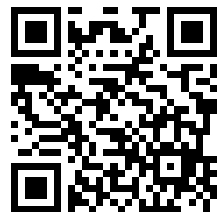

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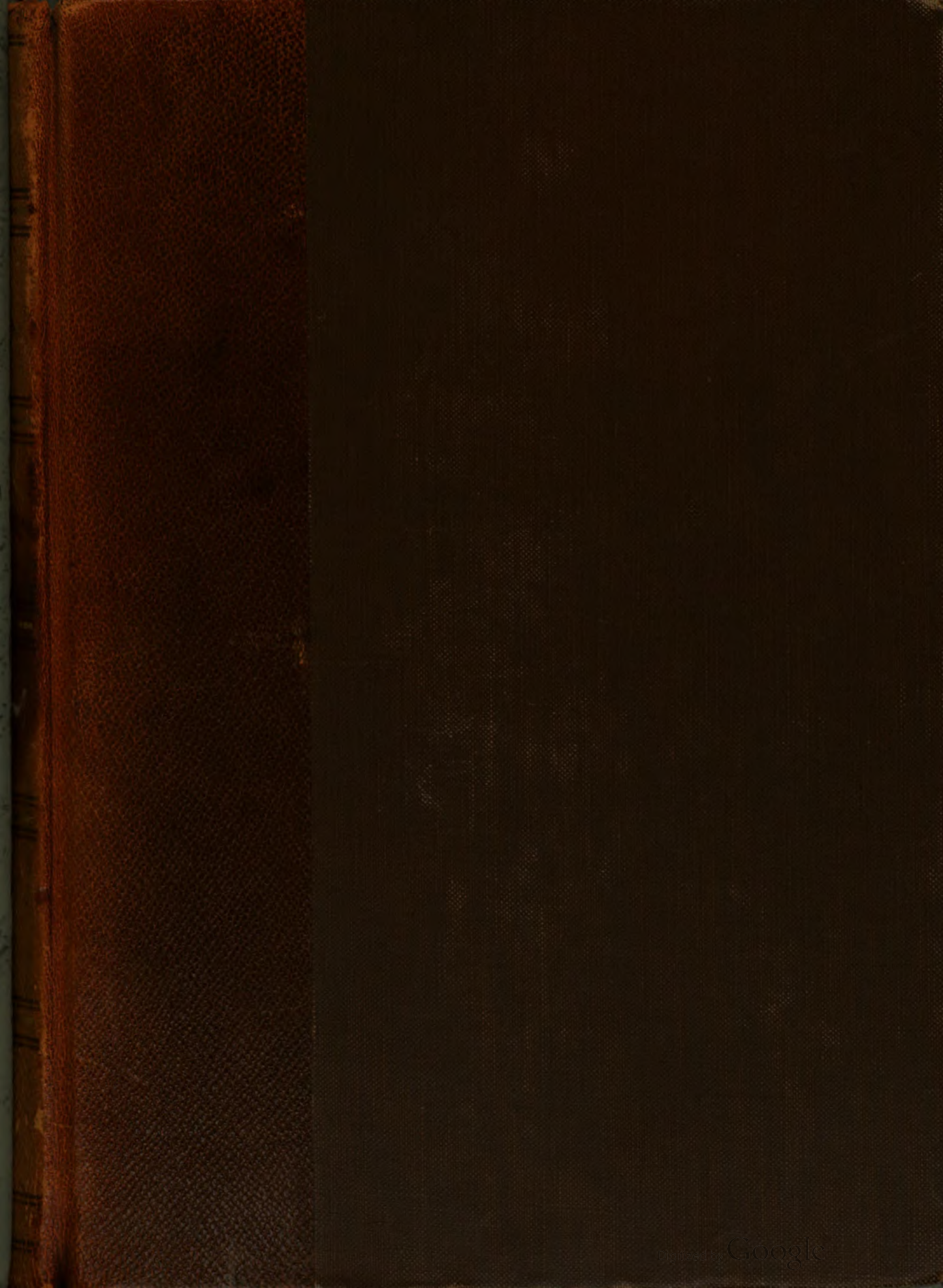


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NUMBER I

THÉOPHILE DE VIAU HIS OWN CRITIC?

There is a striking resemblance between two well-known passages in Théophile that has been noticed neither by his enemies in his own day, nor by his biographers in ours, so far as I have been able to determine. In 1623 he published the following attack upon modern writers at the beginning of his *Fragments d'une histoire comique*:

L'élégance ordinaire de nos Escrivains est à plus près selon ces termes:

L'Aurore, toute d'or et d'azur, brodée de perles et de rubis, paroïssoit aux portes de l'Orient; les Estoilles esbloüies d'une plus vive clarté, laissoient effacer leur blancheur, et devenoient peu à peu de la couleur du Ciel; les bestes de la queste revenoient aux bois, et les hommes à leur travail; le silence faisoit place au bruit, et les ténèbres à la lumière.

Et tout le reste que la vanité des faiseurs de Livres fait esclatter à la faveur de l'ignorance publique.¹

Yet in his own poem, *le Matin*, first published only three years before,² he had been guilty of a description in much the same terms as those he decries:

L'aurore sur le front du jour
Seme l'azur, l'or et l'ivoire,
Et le soleil, lassé de boire,
Commence son oblique tour ...
La lune fuit devant nos yeux;

¹ F. Lachèvre, *le Procès du poète Théophile de Viau* (Paris, Champlon, 1909), II, 135, 136. Remy de Gourmont in his *Collection des plus belles pages, Théophile* (Paris, Mercure de France, 1907, p. 228), cites a passage from Jean Moréas in which he quotes these lines from Théophile and remarks that "le plaisant est qu'il se trouvait être justement plein à l'excès de toutes ces molles afféteries," but no reference is made to the *Matin* in de Gourmont's quotation.

² It appeared first in J. Baudoin's *Second livre des Délices de la Poésie française* (Paris, Toussaint du Bray, 1620), then in *Les Œuvres du sieur Théophile* (Paris, Pierre Billaine, 1621). Cf. Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs* (Paris, H. Leclerc, 1901), I, 419, 420. The text I cite is that of Alleaume, *Œuvres complètes de Théophile* (Paris, P. Jannet, 1856), I, 174, 175. The lines I have omitted are amplifications of those quoted, including references to bees, birds, a forge, etc.

La nuit a retiré ses voiles;
 Peu à peu le front des estoilles
 S'unit à la couleur des cieux ...
 Je voy le genereux lion
 Qui sort de sa demeure creuse, ...
 Sa dame, entrant dans les bocages, ...
 La charue escorche la plaine; ...
 Alix appreste son fuseau; ...
 Et la lumiere, avec le bruit,
 Dissipe l'ombre et le silence ...
 Les bestes sont dans leur taniere,
 Qui tremblent de voir le soleil.
 L'homme, remis par le sommeil,
 Reprend son œuvre coustumiere.

It is obvious that the first passage may readily be taken for a much abridged paraphrase of the second. We have in it the same series of pictures descriptive of early morning, in many cases the same words. What is the explanation of this strange similarity? Was Théophile laughing at himself, or was he unconscious of the fact that he was repeating his own expressions? To answer these questions we must first consider the exact meaning of his satirical observations and seek to determine against whom they were directed.

The author of the *Atteinte contre les impertinences de Théophile, ennemy des bons esprits*¹ (1624) interprets the passage as an attack upon the descriptions made in imitation of the ancients by the "Poètes de la brigade de Ronsart." Théophile does, indeed, criticize Ronsard in the next paragraph for his obscurity and for the lack of discrimination he showed when he imitated Greek and Latin poets.² M. Lachèvre believes that the author of the *Atteinte* was Claude Garnier and points out that it was natural that he should make this interpretation, for he had only the year before published a handsome edition of Ronsard's works and regarded himself as his special defender.³ Moreover Ronsard had especially recommended "les comparaisons, les descriptions des lieux: fleuves, forests, montaignes, de la nuit,

¹ Reprinted by M. Lachèvre, *le Procès du poète Théophile de Viau* (Paris, Champion, 1909), II, 139-45.

² *Ibid.*, II, 136, 137.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 137, 138. Cf. also Reynier, *le Roman réaliste au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, Hachette, 1914), p. 230. Elsewhere M. Reynier has shown that Théophile was by no means the first French writer of his century to revolt against imitation of the ancients. Cf. his *Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1908), p. 271.

du leuer du Soleil, du Midy ... te façonnant en cecy à l'imitation d'Homere,"¹ and had given many examples of such descriptions, as, for instance, when he writes

Passant les portes décloees
Du ciel elle [l'Aurore] alloit deuant
Çà et là versant des roses
Au sein du Soleil leuant.
Son teint de nacre et d'yuoire
Le matin embellissoit ...²

Alleaume, on the other hand, holds that "cette critique du style prétentieux, tel que l'avoit fait le mauvais goût italien, peut très bien s'appliquer à l'emphase des romans du temps. Le sieur Monléon, dans l'avertissement de son *Amphitrite* [1630] ... reconnoît devoir beaucoup aux conseils de T ... se moque du galimathias et des hyperboles des auteurs de son temps."³ M. Lachèvre quotes this passage with approval.⁴ Support for it is given by the fact that Sorel in his *Berger extravagant* (1627) parodies a pompous description of morning found in the *Bergeries de Juliette* of Nicolas de Montreux⁵ (1587), and that Scarron begins his *Roman comique* (1651) with a burlesque description of afternoon, followed by the remark, "pour parler plus humainement et plus intelligiblement, il étoit entre cinq et six."

Now both Garnier and Alleaume may be right. Théophile probably did have in mind Ronsard and his followers as well as contemporary authors of novels, and he may have included writers belonging to still other categories. They should not hold, however, that it is merely a question of a description or of pretentious style. A careful study of the *Fragments d'une histoire comique* reveals the fact that Théophile is criticizing more especially the use of a rhetorical periphrasis in place of a simple statement of time. After two pages devoted to criticism of Ronsard, imitators of Homer, and followers of Malherbe, he writes abruptly, "Mais comme j'avois dit, il estoit

¹ P. Laumonier, *Œuvres complètes de P. de Ronsard* (Paris, Alphonse Lemerre, 1914-19), VII, 52.

² *Ibid.*, II, 332. Cf. also I, 31, 45, 77, 198, 291; II, 39, 154, 158, 273, 332, 334; III, 25, 54, 60, 72, 127, 475; IV, 10, 13, 27, 28, 113, 135, 307, 315, 318; V, 139, 152, 432; VI, 75, 87.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 11, 12. For a similar passage in Justus Lipsius, cf. below, note 11.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 136.

⁵ Cf. Reynier, *le Roman réaliste au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, Hachette, 1914), p. 173.

jour," then, after a few lines in explanation of his fondness for digression, he begins his second chapter with his getting out of bed in the morning. Unless the description of dawn is taken as a circumlocution for "il estoit jour," we can neither explain the "comme j'avois dit," nor connect the critical passage with the narrative that follows. On the other hand, the chapter becomes perfectly clear if we understand it as if Théophile had begun by writing: "Il estoit jour, ou selon l'élégance ordinaire de nos Escrivains, l'Aurore toute d'or et d'azure etc." The fact that he made this so far from clear is one of the evidences of the fragmentary nature of these "pages détachées de ses mémoires" as they are called by M. Lachèvre.¹

This satirical criticism of the picturesque periphrasis substituted for a simple statement of time is found already in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, 2, where it is a question of *dies tertius idus Octobris* and its equivalent in heroic style.² The point of view of Seneca and of Théophile contrasts sharply with the doctrine of Ronsard, who had specifically recommended the periphrasis in the following passage:

Les excellens Poètes nomment peu souuent les choses par leur nom propre.
Virgile voulant descrire le iour ou la nuit, ne dit point simplement et en
paroles nues, Il estoit iour, il estoit nuit, mais par belles circonlocutions

Postera Phœbea lustrabat lampade terras
Humentesque Aurora polo dimouerat umbras.³

The interpretation of the passage from the *Fragments d'une histoire comique* as an attack upon periphrasis rather than upon florid description helps to explain how Théophile could assume this critical attitude after writing the *Matin*, in which we have description, not periphrasis, and also how he could publish, in the same volume in which the *Fragments d'une histoire comique* appeared another

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 135.

² I owe this reference to my colleague, Professor Mustard, who also calls my attention to the following passage in Lipsius:

"Desierant latrare canes, urbesque silebant
Omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete

vel ut cum Varrone clarius dicam, iam noctis meridies erat," *Satyra Menippæa, Somnium* (Paris, apud Guilielmum Linocerium, 1585), p. 10, cited by A. P. Ball, *The Satire of Seneca on the Apotheosis of Claudius* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1902), p. 80. Note that Seneca, Lipsius, and Scarron, like Théophile, put the passage at or near the beginning of the work in which it is found.

³ Introduction to the third volume of the *Franciade* (1587), Laumonier, *op. cit.*, VII, 76. Cf. *Aeneid*, IV, 6, 7.

description of dawn¹ with "les perles et les rubis" that had furnished the most rhetorical portion of the sentence he ridiculed.

Nevertheless, even when one realizes that Théophile is criticizing the use of periphrasis, a reading of his *Fragments* tends to diminish one's appreciation of his *Matin*. Is it possible that he had in mind some passage in an author that is still closer to the *Fragments* than his own description of morning? Of course there are numerous lines in ancient writers from Homer down in which rosy-fingered dawn is described. In the *Odyssey*² we find her enthroned in gold. Théophile may have remembered Vergil's "rubescere stellis Aurora fugatis,"³ or Ovid's

Postera depulerat stellas aurora micantes,⁴

or his

... ecce vigil rutilo patefecit ab ortu
Purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum
Atria, diffugiunt stellae,⁵

or he may have had in mind *Psalm CIV (CIII in the Vulgate)*:

Catuli leonum rugientes, ut rapiant et quaerant a Deo escam sibi.
Ortus est sol, et congregati sunt: et in cubilibus suis collocabuntur
Exibit homo ad opus suum.⁶

But in no ancient author can I find a description that is so close to the *Fragments* as is that contained in the *Matin*. The same statement can be made of Ronsard. In the case of Théophile's contemporaries my researches, which have been necessarily less exhaustive, have brought me to the same conclusion. The closest resemblance I have found, as far as they are concerned, is between "Paroissoit aux portes de l'Orient" and Góngora's "Por las puertas salía del oriente,"⁷ but the two compositions offer no further likeness.

¹ Alleaume, *op. cit.*, II, 62.

² *Aenid*, III, 521.

³ XII, 142, and XV, 250.

⁴ *Metamorphoses*, VII, 100.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 112-14.

⁶ I am obliged to Professor Paul Haupt for this reference. While the passage cited is obviously less close to the text of the *Fragments* than the text of the *Matin* is, it may very well have been a partial source of the latter, for both the psalm and the poem mention lions in their dens, the rising of the sun, and man going to his labor. The general inspiration of the *Matin* is, of course, classical rather than biblical, but this reference to the Vulgate explains the presence of the lions in the French poem, where they seem very much out of place, and answers Remy de Gourmont's question, "Mais pourquoi faut-il que, dans cette agréable description du matin, il fasse intervenir 'le généreux lion'?" *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁷ Blanco-Belmonte, *Las mejores Poesías de Góngora* (Madrid, Sáenz de Jubera, 1918), p. 32. Cf. also Marino, *l'Adone*, I, 19 f. and X, 7 f.

After all, if one can find in authors like Nervèze and Des Escuteaux¹ still closer resemblances to the *Fragments*, one may discover the immediate occasion for Théophile's satire, but one will not remove the implied criticism of his own work. It is hardly possible that he wrote the *Fragments* with the conscious purpose of laughing at his own rhetorical excesses. A half century later Molière could put into the mouth of Alceste a criticism of his *Ecole des maris*, but in 1623 society was not sufficiently complex, literary criticism was not sufficiently subtle for an author, even of Théophile's daring, to venture upon a *jeu d'esprit* of this nature. It seems to me that the explanation is simpler, that Théophile, reacting against the excessive imitation of the ancients that had characterized Ronsard and his followers, and irritated by the absurd rhetoric of his contemporaries, determined to write a passage satirizing the numerous periphrases substituted for the statement that morning had come, the occasion for which lay in the fact that he was representing his narrative as beginning at that time of day. When he had once determined upon such an undertaking, his mind unconsciously followed the same channel as when he had composed the *Matin* a few years before. We have consequently the same gold and azure dawn, the same flight of the stars, the same gradual return to the color of day, the same retreat of wild animals and coming back of man to his labor, constituting, as I interpret it, an interesting example of a poet's unconscious imitation and unconscious criticism of his own work.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

¹ With regard to the novels that immediately preceded the *Astrée* M. Reynier writes: "Les périphrases ne sont pas encore très répandues: ce n'est que plus tard que le divertissement mondain de l'énigme contribuera à les mettre à la mode. On en rencontre pourtant quelques assez beaux exemples," *Roman sentimental*, p. 325.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF *WYNNERE AND WASTOURE* AND
THE PARLEMENT OF THE THREE AGES: A STUDY
IN METHODS OF DETERMINING THE COMMON
AUTHORSHIP OF MIDDLE ENGLISH POEMS

Professor Israel Gollancz, in his edition of *Wynnerre and Wastoure*,¹ restates, in slightly modified form, the arguments for common authorship first adduced in his edition of *Parlement* for the Roxburghe Club in 1897. He says (page 2):

To him [the author of *Wynnerre*] we may safely assign the authorship of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*; the two poems may be described as companion poems. Passages in the one are strongly reminiscent of passages in the other; the general framework of the two pieces is much the same; whole lines are identical; further, the tests of language and metre all tend to confirm identity of authorship.

Kölbing accepts² as conclusive the evidence presented by Gollancz in 1897 and offers additional proof based on a study of the alliteration of the two poems, which he finds practically the same. Manly (*Cambr. Hist.*, II, 42-44) says that *Parlement* "seems to be by the same author." Wells (*Manual*, p. 241) apparently concurs in this opinion:

They are ascribed to one author because of similarity of form and because they are preserved together in MS Brit. Mus. Addit. 31042 (15th century).

Professor Hulbert,³ however, questions both the evidence cited by Gollancz in 1897 and that of Kölbing. After an examination of the dialect of the poem, especially of the verbal inflections, he was convinced that *Wynnerre* shows mixed forms, whereas *Parlement* is written in a fairly consistent West Midland dialect. He concludes that the original of *Wynnerre* is more Southern than that of *Parlement*. The evidence I shall present corroborates Mr. Hulbert's belief that the two poems are not by the same author.

Mr. Hulbert has invalidated, I think, the last reason Gollancz gives for his belief in common authorship. I exclude from consideration the other arguments of Gollancz. None of these tests taken

¹ *Select Early English Poems*, III, Oxford University Press, 1920.

² *Englische Studien*, XXV, 273.

³ *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 31-34.

alone is a valid test. Nor does the sum of these tests yield any certain or definite argument for common authorship.¹ Gollancz himself, in his edition of *Parlement*, makes a damaging admission when he says: "One's first impression is that *The Parlement* is a sort of summary of longer poems—an epitome reminiscent of lines and passages in the chief alliterative poems of the second half of the fourteenth century." (Preface, page 2.) These remarks, I believe, apply with equal force to *Wynnere*. With Gollancz' next statement: "On the other hand, no criteria gainsay the theory that would assign it [*Parlement*] to the author of *Wynnere and Wastoure*," I do not agree.

I believe that other criteria will show conclusively that the poems are not by the same author. In this article I disregard the tests of dialect, of words common to both poems, and of resemblances in phrases, whole lines, or ideas. I am interested rather in applying different tests of authorship and in working out a somewhat new method of studying the problem of common authorship of Middle English poems.

These tests, I think, are independent of the perplexing matters of literary conventions, stock alliterative formulae, and scribal changes. Moreover, they deal with those characteristics of the author that are not easily imitated by other authors, and that even an author himself is often unconscious of. They constitute an author's permanent and proper characteristics, which should be found to be approximately the same in all his works. It is to be noted also that the similarities in general structure and subject, in alliteration, in general impression, and in length furnish ideal conditions for the study of the unchanging qualities of the poets. If I can show marked differences between the two poems, these differences become all the more significant in view of the general similarities pointed out by Gollancz and used by him as the basis of his theory of common authorship.

I offer, first of all, as merely corroborative evidence of different authorship, the fact that the interests of the two poems are strikingly different. The *Wynnere* poet, who calls himself a Western man,

¹ There are similar passages in the two poems, and the framework is similar. But the lines that are identical are not as numerous as parallels I have cited elsewhere between *Wynnere* and other poems of the alliterative school. See also R. J. Menner's introduction to his edition of *Purity* (Yale University Press, 1920), which contains many valuable comments on true and false tests for common authorship. I am indebted to Mr. Menner for many suggestions in this paper.

knows London well. His favorite objects of satire are friars, distressing economic conditions, and luxury in eating, drinking, and dress. The *Parlement* poet is less vigorous in his abuse and omits any mention of many of the pet antipathies of his contemporary. He is more interested in sports and in outdoor life in general. He is less vehement and earnest in his satire. Again, there is a noticeable difference between the two poems in the knowledge of colors, birds, flowers. Though Gollancz speaks of the colorful descriptions of *Parlement* as characteristic of that poem; as a matter of fact the author mentions only well defined colors: green, red, russet, gray, black, and gold. The *Wynnere* poet, on the other hand, distinguishes green, inde, plunket, yellow, tuly, brown, sable, berry-brown, and white. He has a sharper eye for colors. On the other hand, *The Parlement* mentions eight different flowers and shrubs; *Wynnere* only the hawthorne. *Parlement* mentions eight animals, *Wynnere* five. The list of birds in *Wynnere* contains twenty-three names, the list in *Parlement* only eleven, and this in spite of the fact that the *Parlement* poet gives a long description of hawking. Gollancz¹ points out that the *Parlement* poet "shows a delight in bright colours and a certain joyousness in his descriptions, together with occasional marks of diction," which make him resemble the poet of *Sir Gawayne*.

In addition to these general and somewhat indefinite differences which may, of course, be due to a difference in subject, there are more striking, positive differences between the two poems, differences in rhetoric, syntax, and vocabulary.

In respect to the use of rhetorical devices the two poems show a striking divergence. Both are, of course, filled with repetitions and alliterative tags and half-line "fillers," but these tags and stock phrases are entirely different in the two poems. The author of *Wynnere* is fond of *no oper* (2), *appon lofte* (6), *strike-stroke-stynt* (3), *on the bent houes* (3), *brouderde with fewles* (2), none of which occurs a single time in *Parlement*. The *Parlement* poet is especially fond of *naytly there-aftir* (4), *for the nones* (2), *lond and lythe* (2), *zong and zape* (*Parlement* 3, *Wynnere* 1), *mukked and marlede* (2), or *any man (gome) elles* (3). Twice the author uses the solemn line

Bot dethe wondes for no witt to wende were hym lykes (611, 632).

¹ Edition of *Parlement*, *Select Early English Poems*, II, 1915, Preface.

Now, there is nothing in the nature of the subject of either poem to prevent either author from using all of these phrases. Any one of them would be appropriate in either poem. Yet each poet has his own favorite phrases and lines which he is fond of repeating. This disagreement is surprising if the two poems, similar in subject, length, type, and structure, and written (as Gollancz believes) at about the same time, are by the same author. This repetition of favorite phrases, different in each poem, is more significant than the presence of stock alliterative formulae.

Again, the *Parlement* poet is fond of ending the line with *there-aftir* (often with *naytly*). This phrase occurs eighteen times in *Parlement*, only once in *Wynnere*.

The third rhetorical difference between the two poems is the device of the *Parlement* poet of beginning a series of lines with the same word. Disregarding all repetitions of less than four lines, I found that the *Wynnere* poet uses this device only once (lines 112-15), the *Parlement* poet eleven times.¹

The differences in syntax are even more significant. In the first place, the style of *Parlement* is characterized by its frequent use of shifted constructions and its use of a pleonastic pronoun to refer to the subject, as in lines 17-18:

Hertys and hyndes one hillys þay gouen.
The foxe and the filmarte þay fiede to be erthe.

This construction occurs eight times in *Parlement*, but only twice in *Wynnere*.²

Another difference in syntax is observed in the omission of the relative pronoun. There are four cases of omitted relatives in *Parlement*, none in *Wynnere*.³

In the use of tenses there is also a marked difference between the two poems. *Parlement* uses the historical present forty-one times, *Wynnere* only fourteen times. *Parlement* uses the perfect with *is*

¹ Lines 142-48 with *of*, lines 58-61, 255-60, 341-44, 370-73, 379-82, 434-37, 501-5, 538-42, 544-54, 556-59 beginning with *and*. It is of course natural in alliterative poetry to begin a line with unaccented *and*. But the grouping of lines beginning with the same word is a distinctive trick of style in *Parlement*, and is almost entirely absent in *Wynnere*.

² *Parlement*, 13, 17, 18, 59, 222, 223, 625, 629; *Wynnere*, 37, 39.

³ *Parlement*, 104, 152, 427, 626; *Wynnere*, 264 is not a case of omitted relative. The phrase *me were levere* occurs twice in *Parlement*, and not at all in *Wynnere*.

twelve times out of thirty perfects, *Wynnere* only once out of seven perfects. The *Parlement* poet is fonder of the perfect tense. The *Wynnere* poet, however, constantly uses the present form of the verb to express futurity. He uses this form twelve times, whereas the *Parlement* poet employs it only once. *Parlement* uses *gar* as a causative (549, 561, 588), *Wynnere* *do* (220, 478). *Parlement* forms the periphrastic preterit with both *gane* and *letie*; *Wynnere* uses only *gan*.¹

Other differences between the two poems are found in the vocabulary.² It has been shown above that each author has his favorite words. The use of common, traditional poetic words in both poems, is, of course, of no significance. But the use of common words in an uncommon way and the constant repetition of favorite words or phrases are excellent criteria of authorship. It should be remembered also that the similarity in alliteration and subject-matter naturally leads one to expect a similarity in vocabulary. The differences I shall cite, then, are highly significant in view of the fact that the poems deal with the same subject and follow a common literary convention.

The following words are favorites of the *Parlement* poet, but do not occur at all in *Wynnere*:

— <i>borely</i> (2)—strong	— <i>ames</i> (3)—intends
— <i>chefe</i> (2)—choice	— <i>drepen</i> (3)—slay
— <i>layke</i> (2)—sport	— <i>paramours</i> (4)—amorously
— <i>triste</i> (2)—trusty	— <i>foundes</i> (5)—hastens
— <i>ferkes</i> (2)—hastens	— <i>euerous</i> (5)—eager
— <i>naytly</i> (3)—quickly	— <i>sere</i> (ly) (6)—various
	— <i>graythe</i> (ly) (9; <i>Wynnere</i> 1)—prepare.

The *Parlement* poet is also especially fond of using *ful* as an adverb.

On the other hand, the *Wynnere* poet uses *wod* (2) angry, *chere* (2), *zeme* (4), and *on lofte* (6), none of which is used by the *Parlement* poet. The author of *Wynnere* is also fond of the word *or* (= formerly). He uses it seven times, whereas the *Parlement* poet uses it only once. This difference in the choice of favorite words corroborates the

¹ *Parlement*, 12, 38; *Wynnere*, 35.

² It is only fair to state that the size of the vocabularies of the two poems and the percentage of Scandinavian words is approximately the same if one takes into consideration the difference in the length of the two poems. *Wynnere* contains 102 Scandinavian words, *Parlement* 150.

evidence furnished by the use of different favorite alliterative phrases and lines.

The *Wynnere* poet is also fonder of using compound words. He uses thirty-two compound words as compared to seventeen in *Parlement*. If we take into consideration the greater length of *Parlement*, the figures are thirty-two to thirteen.

Another difference in vocabulary is seen in the choice of synonyms. The poets use different sets of words to express the same common ideas:

<i>Parlement</i>	<i>Wynnere</i>
belde	biggede
angrye	wod
	wrothe
katur	four
horse	horse
kaple	capill
stede	
blonke	
speke	speke
say	say
tell	tell
declare	quod
	melleste

Similar differences are seen in the synonyms for many other common words, such as *bold*, *strike*, *move*, *face*.

Since these two poems belong to the same alliterative school, are of approximately the same length (*Wynnere* 503, *Parlement* 665), treat the same general subject, follow the same alliterative satirical fashion, have the same general framework, and leave the same general impression, these marked differences in rhetoric, syntax, and vocabulary are highly significant. The results are certainly not what one should expect to find in poems written by the same author. These tests of rhetoric, syntax, and vocabulary are sounder, I believe, than the more commonly applied tests of dialect, general impression, satirical skill, and alliterative parallels, which at best can furnish only corroborative evidence and which can rarely be used as final and con-

clusive tests of common authorship.¹ Differences in syntax, rhetoric, and vocabulary, moreover, are less likely to be obscured by scribal changes. They are an index to an author's personality and reveal to a marked degree his interests, his manner of thinking, his favorite words and phrases, his distinctive style, and his habitual and unconscious modes of expression. In the face of these fundamental and organic differences, the resemblances pointed out by Gollancz and Kölbing seem to me merely superficial resemblances, due either to the independent use of common literary conventions or—as I think less likely—to borrowing. The differences far outweigh these surface resemblances and are so marked as to render incredible the assumption that *Parlement* and *Wynnere* were written by the same poet.

J. M. STEADMAN, JR.

EMORY UNIVERSITY

¹ Dr. R. J. Menner, to whom I am indebted for helpful suggestions on this article has called my attention to Miss Mabel Day's article in the *Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1922, on the "Alliteration of the Versions of 'Piers Plowman' in its Bearing on Their Authorship" and to C. Reicke's "Untersuchungen über den Stil der Mittelenglischen Alliterierenden Gedichte 'Morte Arthure,' 'The Destruction of Troy,' 'The Wars of Alexander,' 'The Siege of Jerusalem,' 'Sir Gawayne' and 'The Green Knight': ein Beitrag zur Lösung der Huchown-Frage. Königsberg Pr., 1906." Reicke has made good use of the test of tags and line-fillers.

THE MAKING OF BALLADS

The mystery of the popular ballad, coming up out of the earth without the fostering care of great and named poets at least, yet flowering sometimes with rare beauty, has engaged the attention of the learned and the curiosity of general readers for a great deal more than a century. The anomalous character of the ballad has kept men wondering ever since Percy focused attention upon it through his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. It is a very strange phenomenon, indeed, and one that baffles complete understanding. The ballad is not literature, in the sense that the imaginations of men and their powers over language have been consciously directed to making a work of art; yet often, as all ballad lovers know, it has the qualities of great literature: a substance and a form that satisfy the mind and heart.

It is nonsense, of course, to think of anything in words and music as independent of human creation. The ballad is not literature, yet it is the work of man. To say that it is a wild flower is merely to adopt a pretty metaphor that explains little and is open to gross misunderstanding. There was profundity, I believe, in Grimm's famous phrase *Das Volk dichtet*, but, as time has shown, great danger. A series of hardheaded critics has been making fun of the dictum ever since it was uttered. The phrase, I repeat, is profound, but it lacks clarity. The fact is, as everybody knows, that words and music are instruments devised by man for his pleasure and convenience. The directive force of the human mind is necessary to the use of them. Obviously the ballad did not grow up like a flower, nor did it come into being by any miracle. The problem is to discover how something that is not art—that in its propagation and dissemination at least is lore rather than literature—happens to have the attributes of beauty generally associated with art.

Here is the mystery. Naturally we have asked why, and have involved ourselves in one or another theory of ballad origins, seeking the genesis of the phenomenon. We have said, in the main, that the

ballad, if traced to its earliest beginnings in primitive times, must have been "a narrative lyric made and sung at the dance and handed down in popular tradition";¹ or we have said that the ballad is mere detritus—the discarded poetry of an older day, preserved by tradition and somehow set to music. In defense of these respective theories we have battled valiantly, sometimes with a passionate intensity that has done credit to the depth of our convictions if not always to our judgment and our sense of humor; and we have unfortunately not convinced one another. The debate goes on no less sharply now than a generation ago, and it shows no marked sign of an approaching end. Like everything else in the world, the ballad must have had an origin, but it does not easily reveal itself in the same aspect to all observers.

I propose, therefore, that we dismiss from our minds, for the time being, our preconceived and well-buttressed theories as to the beginnings of the narrative lyrics we call ballads; forget, if we can, our arguments; and in an atmosphere of quiet look at certain phenomena of the ballad that are known to every reader and indisputable as phenomena, whatever their explanation. Oddly enough, though they are perfectly well known, they have been much neglected. Very rarely has their existence been noticed in writings on the ballad, while never, I believe, has their true significance been fully recognized.

In the first place, everyone knows, who knows ballads at all, that they have always circulated in a profusion of widely different versions; that they still so circulate in unlettered communities. The fact of this variation is so universal that to mention it is to utter a platitude. The same ballad is found in the most disparate forms, some beautiful, some commonplace, some preserving a complete story, some mutilated almost beyond recognition. The fact of variation, as I say, is familiar to all; but the nature of the variation has been too frequently passed over in silence. Yet it is the phenomenon that throws the clearest light, if I am not mistaken, on the conditions of ballad-making.

In a sense, of course, there are always as many versions of a ballad as there are known copies of it. In spite of the retentive memories of the illiterate, about which all collectors agree, the form of a ballad varies among individual singers, and varies widely. Each

¹ Francis B. Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 75.

singer is sure, according to the evidence, that he is telling a true story, and he will not continue unless he can recall the exact words of his song. Yet the fact remains that the version he achieves may be different in a dozen particulars of phrasing and narrative structure from any other version that we know. The words of which he is so sure are not necessarily the words of which a singer in the next parish or county is equally sure. One has only to look through *Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, and compare the variations in that wonderful thesaurus with the recently collected specimens of the same ballads in such a work as *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* by Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Cecil Sharp, to be entirely convinced that oral tradition does not preserve a poem without change. This, again, is not a matter in dispute.

If we bear in mind this fallibility in reproduction, we cannot be surprised at the great number of mangled, distorted, and fragmentary versions of ballads that have been found, or at the equally large number of versions that are thoroughly commonplace in diction, even though other copies of the same ballads may be vigorous of manner and haunting of phrase. The minstrel and the ballad-monger have not been the only singers to destroy the magic by their clumsiness. The cottager must bear his share of whatever blame there may be said to be when a ballad has gone dwindling. It is clear that he has constantly changed the stories he has sung—often to their great detriment. The bearing of this on our problem we shall soon see. For the moment, it is enough to state that ballads do degenerate, even in the mouths of folk-singers, as nobody, after giving the matter a moment's thought, will deny. Nor can this excite wonder, since not even the most ardent lover of Demos claims for him perfection of memory and taste.

What may legitimately surprise us, however, whether we believe in communal origins or vehemently deny that belief, is the large number of ballads of which more than one excellent version have been brought to light. I beg you who are ballad lovers to consider this phenomenon carefully. You will say that you have always known it, have sometimes turned to this version and sometimes to that, for a more complicated pleasure than can be got by reading a single form. Very likely you have favorites, which may or may not be mine. The point

is that there is the widest discrepancy among what we may call "good" versions of popular ballads: a fact that has never been emphasized, even though you and I have always known it.

I have been going through Child's collection to see how many of the three hundred and five ballads are represented by more than one version that the ballad lover, as distinguished from such enthusiasts about folk-lore as myself, could not well spare. I have tried to be very strict in my appraisal, since no perfect accord among critics is possible in matters of taste. Yet I find that in no less than sixty-five cases the ballad lover would be essentially the poorer for the lack of variant texts. Grant that my powers of discrimination are feeble, that I have found beauty of one sort or another in certain versions of no surpassing merit: it still remains true that there exist a great number of versions that are independently and absolutely good—that would be indispensable, I mean, in a comprehensive anthology of ballad lore. This is a fact as truly as is the fact of degeneration elsewhere. Out of a vast welter of the commonplace shine these poems, which have—though they may be crude or even grotesque in certain stanzas—the magic that ballad lovers have felt since the days of Philip Sidney.

I am not referring, please understand, to what we may call good copies of good versions, which exist in very much larger numbers, of course—to those variants with only minor differences that might be the result of misunderstanding or imperfect memory. I am referring to versions that, if the matter concerned literature rather than lore, we should unhesitatingly say were the work of different poets of real ability, dealing with the same theme. There are many such.

Consider, for example, *The Twa Sisters*, of which Child brought together a great number of variants. Although some are fragmentary, nearly all are effective and most have the qualities we chiefly prize in a ballad. Yet these versions are inconsistent with one another in many details of narrative, and very often differ from one another in phrasing where they agree in fact. Or consider *Lord Lovel*, or *Gil Brenton*, or *The Maid Freed from the Gallows*, or *Child Waters*, or *The Cruel Mother*, or almost any ballad you please that was adequately collected before forgetfulness set in. How reconcile such alternative stanzas as the following from *The Wife of Usher's Well*? The

ghostly sons have returned to their mother, who speaks under the impression that they have come "in earthly flesh and blood."

Blow up the fire, my maidens,
Bring water from the well;
For a' my house shall feast this night,
Since my three sons are well.

O eat an drink, my merry men a'.
The better shall ye fare,
For my twa sons the are come hame
To me for evermair.

Perhaps the first stanza is better poetry than the second, but surely the second is something other than a distorted reflection of the first. It is independently good, is it not—the fit expression of masterly irony? These things are very odd, you will agree, and deserve careful thought.

If you take the several versions of any such ballad as I have mentioned, and try to construct from them, as some have done, a composite original, you discover that they cannot be satisfactorily pieced together. You may be able to make a narrative poem pleasing to your taste, but you find that you have used by no means all the pieces. You have a residue of beautiful stanzas that must be thrown away because they parallel the thought of other beautiful stanzas. You cannot, that is, make a composite that will embody everything good in the ballad as it has been sung in various parts of the English-speaking world. In putting together your mosaic, moreover, you will have wrecked the narrative structure of all the versions together, for most ballads, when taken down accurately by collectors, tell a story with vivid dramatic force and a fine forward movement. Even though sometimes obscure through brevity or bold hiatus, they are highly successful tales in verse, considered in that aspect merely. To preserve in a composite the virtues of the best type of ballad is almost impossible; and its making must, in the nature of things, destroy the components out of which it is constructed. Distinct from one another good ballads versions are, in structure as in phrasing. They are mutually independent, moreover, in the sense that out of all the good elements in all the versions you cannot make something better. You destroy something essential when you meddle

with texts, and you have to sacrifice noble passages because you find the same things well put more times than one.

Why should these things be? If, on the one hand, a ballad text is nothing but an orally preserved copy of a narrative poem made by some anonymous bard of uncertain date, how can there be in existence several more or less mutually exclusive versions, all of them with merits of their own? Something must be wrong with the theory, for by misquotation merely, fine poetry, it may safely be said, has never been achieved. No: variant texts of differing length, in which the same story is told with irreconcilable divergences of incident and phrase, yet finely told, can scarcely be the flotsam of a poetic wreck. Some better explanation must be found.

On the other hand, the defenders of the communal theory of authorship have done very little to clear the matter up. One surmises from a casual phrase or two that Child may have understood it, as he seems to have understood most things. My recollection of talks with Gummere—too soon cut off!—leads me to think that he also had the truth in mind; but neither he, nor Professor Kittredge, nor Mr. Frank Sidgwick in their several and admirable expositions of ballad-making has stated the problem in set terms, much less given the proper solution. With the exception of Child, they have each and all been so much concerned with ultimate origins that they have dismissed with slight consideration the phenomena of textual differences. Only Mr. Cecil Sharp, to whom ballad lovers owe more than to any other man now living, seems to me to have grasped the situation and to have stated it fairly. To his analysis of the case we must later turn.

For the moment, however, let us look closely at the facts before us, without regard to theory. We find that a large number of ballads circulate, or have circulated, in more or less mutually exclusive versions, all of which have merit as lyrical narratives either through poetic phrase or excellent presentation of material. They cannot possibly be pieced together without sacrificing the virtues of the several variants. In other words, to speak in terms of literature, a parent text, an "original," cannot be reconstructed. It is equally true, though the fact has less importance for the present argument, that mediocre or positively feeble versions often show startling varia-

tions. The point is that all such differences, whether for the better or for the worse, are irreconcilable.

They are inexplicable, too, by any theory that requires us to believe in the ballad as a fixed entity and to view the variants as mere corruptions. All versions that have been collected from folk-singers have equal authority, though one may be very noble and another very base. The ballad does not exist, it is fair to say, except in its variants. Some are good, some bad, but all of them together constitute—in a very real sense—the ballad. It is plain that ballad-singers, in spite of their richly stored memories and in spite of their universal belief that they render their songs precisely as they have heard them, in spite, too, of their regard for ballads as true stories, do alter them materially. They make the alterations unintentionally, to be sure, but they make them none the less. No other conclusion, it seems to me, can be drawn from the facts adduced. As long as ballads are alive, they are subject to change.

It follows from this that the merits of a good version are not necessarily due to the original author of the ballad. They cannot be, when several of the versions are independently excellent. In such cases, various ballad-singers must have been responsible for innovations of arrangement and phrase that are severally worthy of praise. They must have been, each in his own time and place, whether singing to groups of appreciative listeners or in solitude, creative poets, even though unconscious of doing more than reproduce a ballad previously learned. They must have altered phrases, suppressed or expanded incidents, in accordance with no theory whatever but only with their sense of what was suitable and right. As they varied in their natural gifts and in their exactness of response to canons of taste worked out through long generations, they must have produced innovations in the text of very varying worth. This explains, I think, what cannot be accounted for in any other way: the amazing variety in ballad texts.

Let us take the next step, which follows from this quite logically, and let us take it quite without regard to our theories as to ballad origins. If the ballad be considered not as a single text, which has suffered various alterations good and bad, but as the group of versions, collected and uncollected, which have circulated in oral tradition, it

becomes clear that any ultimate or original text is not only undiscoverable but comparatively unimportant. In whatever way the ballad originated, that is, it would be submitted to the same processes of remaking, once it came into popular favor. Provided it were in the suitable rhythm, a poem of sophisticated origin might well, it seems to me, have a long history as a ballad, alongside another poem that had sprung crude and simple from the excitement of a rural festival. Both narratives would pass under the same set of influences, would be dominated by the same musical and poetic traditions.

Grant this, and the old quarrel between communalists and individualists becomes superfluous. Why dispute about the origin of ballads if it is what happens to ballads in their diffusion that really matters? The emphasis upon origins, I believe, has been unfortunate. It is far more advantageous for us now, at least, to put our minds on the plain evidence of the material so richly provided for us by the collectors of words and tunes. The study of poetic origins can teach us little or nothing about the ballad, though the study of ballads may in the long run teach us much about poetic origins. But only when we can come to an agreement about the processes by which the ballads that now exist were made, shall we be ready to speculate fruitfully about the ballads that may have preceded them.

What I wish to emphasize particularly is the diversity in good versions of the same ballad—the central fact, it seems to me, of which we must never lose sight. The variations must have been introduced by actual singers of the ballad, for we are discarding all assumptions of a mystical, spontaneous growth, and we know that the ballad could have been tampered with by no literary person while circulating orally. Therefore, since the variations were made by different singers of the ballad, they may properly be said to have been the result of communal tradition and communal activity, which brings us a step farther toward the solution of the problem. The good versions must have been formed—could only have been formed—under exceptional and favorable conditions. Although there is abundant evidence that among primitive folk the power of verse-making is widely diffused, that the poet is not a person apart, consecrated by his gift, most folk-poetry has not great merit as poetry. It is interesting, but it seldom has the quality of the ballads that have been collected

in Great Britain and Denmark, for example. Our good ballads have undeniable beauty of structure, and of phrase, as well as of rhythm. It follows that peculiar circumstances must account for their shaping, if not for their making.

I fail to see how it is possible to escape the conclusion that in certain regions, long before the beginning of popular education, there developed a tradition of poetic utterance that enhanced the powers common to most illiterate folk and made an extraordinary number of persons capable of putting into noble form such tales as they chose to sing. The beauty of the ballads is a very real thing, as is shown by the extent to which our greatest modern poets have drawn upon them for diction and rhythms and narrative form. Only a people homogeneous in nature, possessing what Child so well called "collective sympathy," and trained by long generations of uninterrupted tradition, could have produced the ballads that we recognize as "good," even when they are preserved in books, as fossils merely. Experiment has shown that sophisticated poets cannot successfully imitate the old ballads, though they can use the technique of the ballad-makers to enhance the loveliness of their own creations. For a few happy centuries, it appears, the men and women of the countryside lived under such conditions that they could not only preserve in good form but actually improve the stories they sang to traditional melodies.

This is no mystical doctrine. It is forced upon us by the plain evidence in the case. At least in this sense, the folk did poetize in other days. There was a tradition of good music and good poetry, by which the unlettered peasant was so affected that he did not mar, but rather made, the ballads that he knew. We must not fall into the error of mistaking literacy for culture. It is clear that people who have never learned to read and write may possess qualities of mind and of taste denied to formally educated persons. This does not mean that their culture is well rounded, but it does mean that by the cumulative force of tradition they have developed remarkably in certain particulars. And tradition is very powerful, we must remember, among such conservative folk.

Put it that they had a feeling for what was right in balladry, just as there have been times when good line and good proportion

in building have been felt by the common carpenter and mason. The evidence of such unconscious art in construction—the art of tradition—is scattered all over rural England and can be found in the older sections of the United States. Grant that some master-builder directed the work. He was trained in his craft by his predecessors, who, without any theories of design, had accumulated a lore of building. Until these workmen were interfered with by enthusiasts who broke the tradition by demanding something new, thus plunging architecture into chaos, the eye and the hand of the builder were guided by his feeling for what was right. How successfully they were guided, you have only to study the roof-angles of some group of old cottages or of an isolated farmstead, to see.

Can one doubt that artistry of this unconscious sort went to the making and the shaping of ballads? Without it there might have been ballads, to be sure, but there could not have been good ballads. I can see no reason, myself, for supposing that minstrels of the humbler kind did not take part in the processes of ballad creation and molding, for they were of the people and must have been affected by the same influences as their auditors. We have been so impressed by the desecrations of the ballad-monger that the close relation of the rural bard to the audience he amused and edified has sometimes been forgotten, though neither Child nor Gummere forgot it. No man who was actually in the tradition, however he earned his living, need be excluded from possible participation in ballad-making. Good ballads are of many kinds, and doubtless had as many kinds of makers. It was the traditional art that counted—not the artist.

There is another matter to consider: a factor in the problem of equal importance, in some respects, to any hitherto mentioned. Ballads were always sung—are still sung, indeed, when they have remained alive. It is necessary to inquire into the connection between words and melodies, for the tune is regarded by the folk-singer as an essential part of the ballad. Unquestionably he is right, though ballad collectors did not discover the fact until a comparatively few years ago. Fortunately for us, to quote the statement of Mr. Cecil Sharp, "the music of the folk-song of to-day has been more faithfully

preserved than its text,"¹ and the enlightened enthusiasm of a new race of collectors is fast gathering both in England and the United States the precious melodies so long neglected.

It was not strange, perhaps, that earlier ballad lovers failed to note tunes as well as words. They must have observed the striking fact that the same ballad was often sung to different melodies, which would have led them to believe the relationship unimportant. There is no reason to suppose that words and tunes have ever been indissolubly married. Yet it cannot be that the poems were composed without reference to music. All the evidence indicates that some tune must have beaten itself out in the mind of the original maker of every ballad, else we should not find text and melody so universally associated. If we had no other evidence, indeed, than the rhythms of the ballads themselves, it would be impossible to deny the part that music has played in their composition. The meters are so definitely lyrical that their singing quality appears even when they are read aloud. But the original melody of a ballad is as undiscoverable as the original text—and probably for the same reasons.

That does not matter, however, any more than does the lack of the earliest set of words. What really matters is to have recovered both words and music fresh and unspoiled from the mint of tradition. We are fortunate indeed to have the store of excellent ballads that we possess. From them, it seems to me, the evidence is clear that the rhythmic beauty of ballad poetry has always been dependent upon folk-melody. There is no doubt at all, I think, that the two arts grew side by side, and that only a people in whom musical utterance had become finely developed could have put into their verse the emotional quality of ballad phrasing at its best.

I have already referred to the analysis of the situation made by Mr. Cecil Sharp, which seems to me the soundest that we have had. He insists upon the three principles of continuity, variation, and selection as accounting for the success both of folk-music and folk-poetry. Although my approach to the problem is altogether different from his, I am quite ready to accept these principles, as well as most of his conclusions. In the sense in which he is a communalist,

¹ *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*, p. 102.

no one can well escape being a communalist, I believe. An attentive study of the volume entitled *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* will do much to clear the mind of anyone to whom the complex phenomena of folk-music and folk-poetry seem confusing. He speaks words of truth and soberness.

In his introduction to *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, Mr. Sharp remarks: "There is no doubt that if this problem is ever to be solved it will be through the examination and analysis of genuine, authentic variants, such as we have done our best faithfully to record; and we make no apology, therefore, for printing so many of them." It seems to me that this magnificent collection, made by himself and Mrs. Campbell, does indeed help to clear up certain points that have hitherto remained obscure.

In the first place, the ballad texts recovered are not comparable for beauty with the best of those known before. With certain notable exceptions, that is true also of all the ballad texts collected in America, while the exceptions have usually come from persons either born in the old country or born of immigrant parents. In other words, the principle of variation has not operated with good results in an environment different from that in which the ballads were first composed. Degeneration has come about not because of education, since our mountain people have remained primitive and illiterate; it has apparently resulted from a break in the continuity of those traditional influences by which the ballad was molded into beauty. We may as well face the situation as it is. Exceedingly precious and interesting the variants from our hill folk are—peculiarly valuable because they are not yet so moribund as the songs that linger in Great Britain; but they have not preserved the highest qualities of balladry. They are alive, but, as far as the words are concerned, they are not the things of beauty that such folk-poems have been in the past.

This brings me to my final point. If the conclusions that I have been drawing from the evidence of variant forms are just, there need be no dispute about kinds of ballads any more than about origins. If the proof of authenticity in the ballad is neither oral transmission nor conformity to a type of narrative lyric first created under very primitive conditions, but rather the fact that the poem has sub-

mitted to processes of molding under the influence of a definite tradition of music and verse-making, no sharp division need be drawn among ballads thus formed. Where the ballad started and when it started are matters of less concern than the question whether traditional impulses and traditional aptitudes have acted upon it. As long as the impulses and aptitudes remain alive, new ballads will come into being. Confusion entered with the printing-press, of course, when literary hacks began to force their wares on the public by setting them to old melodies, and confusion has been confounded by popular education. Nevertheless, since folk-ways die hard, certain broadside ballads seem to have been adapted by the people, as well as adopted; and even now, in certain backward communities, new ballads may spring up that are perfectly genuine in the processes of their birth. How they may be formed is admirably illustrated by the case of *John Hardy* in West Virginia, where, a few years ago, Professor Cox had the good fortune to watch the making of a ballad in much the same way that hundreds of other ballads must have been made. The existence of American ballads, as distinguished from those brought overseas, is now beyond question.

Only, let us not be deceived by our enthusiasm over survivals into thinking that the day of balladry is not past. The new ballads, like most of the versions of old ballads collected in America, have few of the qualities that we prize in the verse of the folk who for so many centuries clung to their community life. The impulse to create is still present, but the power to create beautiful things has largely perished with the violent change of environment. The tradition was broken, and with the break has been lost the rare gift of story-telling in vivid and often poignantly lovely verse that once characterized the country people of England and Scotland. The Scots and the English have lost the power, too, and have nearly forgotten their ballads as well, which is all very sad, even if inevitable. The sun of balladry has indeed set.

I suppose that any self-centered community that sings at its work and its play is capable of producing authentic ballads. I see no reason to think, however, that now or at any future time there can exist the peculiar conditions that gave rise to the majority of the ballads in the great collections of Child and Grundtvig. Those

conditions have gone, and the traditions they sustained have nearly disappeared. Such slips from the original stock as were transplanted to the New World, here to flourish less beautifully, are now fast decaying. There is no use in trying to stay the process, I am afraid, for an essential virtue of folk-song must be its unconsciousness. All we can do is to keep the old ballads in remembrance as long as possible, and to gather up before it perishes the precious evidence they present as to the times when ballad-making was a natural outlet for the feelings and the fancies of rural folk. There were poets and composers in those days to whom art was not a trade. Some of them were gifted, I take it, and very many of them able to do no more than lisp in numbers; but all alike helped to form and to preserve a tradition of song that in retrospect must be judged one of the greater glories of our race.

GORDON HALL GEROULD

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS IN HERDER'S THOUGHT. V

Chap. III

HERDER'S PSYCHOLOGY

Every historic epoch embodies a new and particular philosophy of life. It has, as it were, an individual character and mind by which it differs essentially from every other epoch.

The representative literary and artistic products of an epoch comprise all its higher efforts to interpret its personality and character. Historic literature and art, as the authentic expression of the fundamental intentions, the creative impulses and ideas, the integral soul, of a collective individuality, therefore must be in a large sense always didactic. The great movements in literature, those of the Old and the New Testaments, of the Greek Classical Age, and thence down to the ages of Shakespeare, of Corneille, Racine and Molière, of Herder, Goethe and Schiller, have been consciously and deliberately embodiments of distinctive historic generalizations concerning the foundations of life.

A historic literary utterance is, then, saturated with a characteristic theory of reality. Now, in analyzing and generalizing the historical and philosophical relations in which this saturation becomes both effective and expressive, one is forced to make, not indeed absolute and irrevocable choice, but primary and specific distinction between two modes of procedure: the rationalistic or absolutistic and the genetic or relativistic. The former is deductive, the latter inductive. Historical Rationalism, contending that general terms are primary, would place the most abstract expression of a conception of reality at the foundation of all the manifestations of the spirit of an epoch. The genetic-inductive view, on the other hand, of which Herder is the leading modern representative, seeks the fundamental factors of reality in the concrete individual data, and regards all generalizations, whether they be abstractive or collective, as secondary.

The theory of reality, characteristic of this view, would not have the absolute force of a primary and mandatory law, but merely the relative validity of a summary; it would be limited by its concrete content, which is its primary substance. The conflict between Nominalism and Realism, though its terms have partly exchanged, partly modified, their original meanings, is still as fundamental and irreconcilable as it was in the Middle Ages.

The age of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller was a true epoch. It developed an original and characteristic conception of reality, both synthetically, in its collective conduct and creative utterance, and analytically, in its theoretic formulations. The latter were completed in the critical conclusions of Herder. The former attained their historic features most consummately in Goethe's, and next to him, in Schiller's literary creations. Both suffered a progressive decay in the egocentric vagaries of the Romantic movement.

Herder's theory of individuality developed from a new analysis and combination of the primary factors of reality. By his conception of personality as specific, total, organic unity of mechanism and spontaneity, he created the distinctive focus by which the view of reality embodied in his Age is fundamentally determined.

The historical result of this new perspective was a final clarification of a turmoil of philosophical ideas, the range and complexity of which had not been equalled probably since the later days of antique Athens. The multitude of questions, which had agitated the philosophical mind of the Renaissance, were now all seen to be variations of the one main problem of the relations of spontaneity and mechanism. It was now understood that that problem had underlain the historic revolt of individualism against every form of external restraint, whether that restraint took the form of absolute ecclesiastical authority or of absolute universal reason, of absolute mechanistic or "automatic" determination, or of absolute subjectivistic fatality; or of any of the innumerable local or otherwise relative forces of coercion controlled by the institutions inherited from the past. Herder was indefatigable in assembling all the principal historical ideas, and incomparably sagacious in seizing upon their specific relations to the main problem. Gradually and abundantly, he constructed the main parts of the conception of reality which has dominated the modern view of history.

By basing reality primarily on his organic conception of personality, Herder brought about a revision of the philosophical problem of reality. He drew that problem from its sovereign isolation of absolute metaphysical objectivity ("Ding an sich") and subordinated it to the characters of concrete genetic individuality. He reversed the traditional, rationalistic approach to the foundations of reality by substituting inductions based on demonstrated data for the deductions of formal logic. He established thereby the dependence of any theory of reality upon empirical psychology. When, in Kant's attempted reconstruction of Rationalistic absolutism, the principles of formal logic, the "pure forms" of thought, vested with the authority of "Pure Reason," were sublimated into super-empirical premises, primary beyond any conceivable degree of primacy, absolute beyond any conceivable projection of absoluteness, eternal beyond any conceivable extensions of time, space and validity—into infinitely primary, absolute, and eternal premises—of all possible perception, Herder, in his controversy with Kant, formulated the fundamental arguments on which rests to this day the case of demonstrable knowledge against rationalistic speculation.¹

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ANTECEDENTS OF HERDER'S PSYCHOLOGY²

Herder's fundamental conception is the historic synthesis of the ideas of two centuries and more, concerning a genetic view of the primary factors of reality. A survey, in which these ideas will be brought into the perspective of Herder's theory, will not only reveal new and interesting aspects of well-known generalizations, but will change many traditional definitions and shift many points of emphasis.

The principal types of philosophy entering essentially into Herder's conception of man as an organic unity of spontaneity and mechanism, can be comprehensively grouped as follows:

As to the theological tradition, Augustine's conception of personality and the relation of man to God was dominant, essentially unchanged in the Catholic, and but slightly changed by Luther's protestant-individualistic doctrine in the Protestant, world. Herder

¹ This controversy will be the subject of the last chapter of this study.

² Cf. for the periods of the history of philosophy covered by the following account. Windelband, Wilhelm, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, 6th Aufl. (Tübingen, 1912), pp. 294-476.

was an unwavering adherent of Luther's teaching. This, the theological relation of Herder's ideas, will be discussed in the next chapter.

The philosophical antecedents proper of Herder's psychology form a multitude of ideas that at first sight seem to defy orderly arrangement. It is possible, however, to group them in three principal movements, namely, the deductive-dialectic-absolutistic doctrine of Rationalism, beginning with the system of Descartes, and its two opposites, namely "Empiricism" and the theory of "feeling," "Gefühl." Empiricism rests on the assumption that not abstract "a priori" ideas or "universals" are the primary factors of knowledge, but the concrete data of sense perception, and that abstract ideas, all truth and knowledge, are derived from these. Induction, instead of deduction, is the logical method, and relativity, specific perspective, the measure of validity, pertaining to Empiricism. The two principal types of empiricism between the age of Descartes and that of Herder were the "natural" or physical sciences, which attained a phenomenal development both in range and method; and the various types of formal psychology grouped under "Associationism." Science, by constantly improving the technique of demonstration and induction, ultimately absorbed all the other branches of empiricism.

The theory of "feeling," "Gefühl," is founded upon the belief in the primacy of immediate, integral, inward sensibility or "Gefühl." "Gefühl" was conceived as the total essence of individual being, both in knowledge and in action. The doctrine of "Gefühl" was in all its phases the specific theoretical expression of the movement of individualism. The extreme, religious form of this theory was religious mysticism.

Beside these three principal movements, a few words will have to be said about the various notions of reality, forming spurious compounds of the three fundamental conceptions, which are grouped under the name "Aufklärung."

I. RATIONALISM

Descartes

The modern form of philosophical curiosity concerning the relations obtaining between mechanism and spontaneity begins with Descartes. Taking over the characteristic medieval dualism of the

flesh and the spirit, but discarding its animistic-moralistic purport, he arrived at the purely intellectualistic opposition of mind and matter, which is an essential premise of all subsequent rationalistic theories of reality.

Descartes, following Augustine,¹ based his theory of reality on the immediate subjective certainty of existence inherent in consciousness. "Cogito, ergo sum." Consciousness is the primary reality. Whatever is "clearly and distinctly" perceived through consciousness must be innate in the mind, i.e., primarily real. Descartes defines as "clear and distinct" all that is distinguished from something else and defined by analytical discrimination. Consciousness is thus identified with the ratiocinative reason operating on the subjects furnished by "intuition," i.e., with the deductive or syllogistic process of thought. This reason is, according to Descartes, the "lumen naturale," the reason governing man, and in his world and for him ruling as the supreme and absolute principle of truth. However, it is the light only of "nature," of finite being. Beyond it and wholly incomprehensible to it, is the mind of God, the absolutely absolute, the "ens perfectissimum."

This human reason, which he named "res cogitans," the thinking reality, was to him one part of reality. The other was all that was not conscious. This he called "matter." He defined it by its most universal attribute of spatial extension, as "res extensa." Matter then consists, according to Descartes, of bodies that can be reduced to quantity.

These are the two primary realities. Both are absolute; the one, living, free, spontaneous; the other, dead, mechanical or, as Descartes called it, "automatic." Owing to his limitation of consciousness to ratiocination, he had to exclude all living beings below man, even the highest animals, from the living reality. Animals were forms of "res extensa," "automata." They had no "souls."

The origin of Rationalism is thus subjective and empirical. It was only by a blind leap that Descartes passed over the gulf separating the introspective inference, on which his primary assumption rested, from the doctrine of an absolute, deductive, metaphysical reason, the validity of which was prior to empirical reality and unlim-

¹ Herder also accepted Augustine's first premise. See "Über Erkennen und Empfinden," in the following number.

ited by concrete experience. This miraculous transition is the paradox at the core of all rationalism. Descartes was not aware that he had not proceeded from the one to the other by a proper philosophical bridge. It was the dominant intellectual conviction of his age that the laws of the syllogism as embodied in mathematics were the one avenue by which absolute and eternal truth penetrated uncorrupted and uncurtailed into the concrete experience of man. Logic, as far as it was sustained by mathematics, was regarded as absolute and eternal. By limiting consciousness to that which was perceived "*clare et distincte*," i.e., by identifying the spontaneous, or as it was then called, the "immaterial" part, or the soul, of man with the processes of mathematical logic, Descartes and his contemporaries and followers felt justified in assuming that consciousness, although itself the conceptual product of concrete inductive analysis by means of introspection, was yet the agent of absolute and universal reason.

This fundamental identification of the inward limits of empirical consciousness with Absolute Reason is essential to historical Rationalism. Rationalism as such is not restricted to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is one of a few fundamental frames of mind, of a few primary types of outlook on reality, which transform and succeed one another in response to changes in the complex physical and mental environment to which human society is unceasingly subject.

It is not necessary here to analyze in detail the concrete historical environment of which Descartes' system of Rationalism was the abstract expression. Obviously not only the vast enhancement of man's confidence in his particular powers and importance, an enhancement that inevitably attended the phenomenal inventions and discoveries, which had ushered in the Renaissance; but also the political, social, and, not least, the ecclesiastical conditions prevailing in his own country, which attained to the most intense form of centralized absolutism in governmental and administrative organization, conditioned inevitably both the centralization, and the confidence in the absolute authority, of the human reason, which form the fundamental character of Descartes' system.

With Descartes modern Rationalism attained its typical expression. The history of ideas since the time of Descartes has been, in

its negative aspect, the record of the gradual retreat of Rationalism before an ever greater mass of assailants arising in every quarter of thought, from Rationalism itself to its extreme opposites of empiricism and emotionalism. This retreat has given the most interesting modern instance of the type of curve, with its characteristic variations and temporary checks and accelerations, in which the philosophical mind, yielding both to the pressure of its historical environment and to its own spontaneous rhythm, swings from one theoretic limit to another.

Rationalism is in principle the belief in a Reason which is human yet immaterial, absolute, primary, universal, transcending the limitations of concrete perception. Reason is conceived as the perfect organ of formal logic. The "soul" is the "locus" of Reason, and likewise immaterial, absolute, primary. It is "*res cogitans*." It has only one function: formal logic. It is an abstract personification of the principle of formal logic; formal logic endowed with spontaneous motion.

Reason, then, *is* life, spontaneity. Spontaneity is therefore immateriality. Everything material, "*res extensa*," quantity, is the opposite of life, soul, spontaneity.

In regarding spontaneity as no more than formal logic in motion, Rationalism divorces it from individuality. In such a deductive absolutism, individuality is not merely a secondary, but a disturbing factor. In as far as it is at variance with the universality of formal logic, i.e., in as far as it is primary, just in so far it must be judged a partial negation, a limitation, not the positive principle, the source, of reason. The principles of individuality and logistic absolutism are incompatible.

In an absolutistic conception, be it of the state, of society, of personal conduct, of aesthetic values, forms and rules, of humanity, of faith, and ultimately, in its most abstract form, of reality as such, individuality, particular personality, is a delinquency, a disloyalty, a principle of sedition, immorality, barbarism, heresy, ugliness, and ultimately, unintelligence.

In the absolutistic conception of the state, the citizen, the primary active embodiment of sovereignty, sinks to the status of the subject, whose first duty is conformity and obedience to universal authority.

In aesthetic theory Rationalism manifested itself as neo-Classicism, the "Classicism" or "Pseudo-Classicism," which attained its highest development and most expansive power in the rationalistic century in France, and was not expelled from German literature till the last generation of the eighteenth century. Subordination of individual impulse, perception, standard of form, fitness, beauty, value in general, temperament, will, mind, character; to formal ratiocinative deductions and universal rules, is the essential characteristic of pseudo-classical aesthetics. The rationalistic standard of beauty is the uniform and mandatory rule derived from a supreme universal faculty of truth, a deductive "causa sui," a metaphysical fountainhead of authority—an abstraction which attempts once more the feat of lifting itself out of the concrete—the overwhelmingly concrete!—by its boot straps.

From the identification of ratiocination with reality, it follows that Rationalism must conclude that logical distinction is identical with essential difference. Rationalism is an absolute, deductive atomism. It must interpose an absolute gulf between each two primary units of definition. Continuity, synthetic unity, is for it negative; the infinitesimal limit of a series of diminishing distances.

In its psychology, therefore, Rationalism is compelled to interpret the "soul" in an atomistic, formal manner. It is bound to an absolutistic conception of "faculties of the soul," or, in Kant's tautological expression, "Grundkräfte der Seele." As many forms of the process of logic, as many "faculties." Reason, intuition, memory, comparison, distinction, and so forth, become each a different mental unit.

Rationalism can conceive of each faculty only as something absolutely simple, enclosed in an absolutely thought-tight compartment, from which it mysteriously issues its inscrutable decrees. The more the mind's activities and functions become known and defined, the more it comes to resemble, in the rationalistic view, a honeycomb of such thought-tight cells. The more rationalistic psychology progresses, the farther it must recede from the conception of a positive unity of the mind.

Descartes distinguished two primary sources of truth: human consciousness interpreted as ratiocinative deduction from intuition; and divine revelation, removed absolutely beyond the analysis even

of reason. Intuition meant to him a perception exclusively inward. Every other form of mental process, i.e., every form of consciousness which was not ratiocinative, was considered as mechanistic, or in the Cartesian term, "automatic."

Reason, "*lumen naturale*," was thus an absolute intellectual reality, which had nothing in common with the divine spirit, on the one hand, and with "matter," on the other. Descartes' dualistic assumption of mind and matter as two substances involved the conclusion that there could be no direct relations between them. For two "substances" cannot have any character in common. In order to bridge this absolute chasm, Descartes resorted to the expedient of assuming the universal and miraculous mediation of God. This supreme *deus ex machina*, removed from all human analysis into the sphere of religious faith, served Descartes also as a shield against the suspicions of the church.

As every speculative makeshift, so this attempt to unite two absolutely disparate substances by a third one, had fatal theoretic consequences. Descartes' rationalistic successors of the eighteenth century, forgetting the absolute, substantive differences of which Descartes was always aware, even though he blurred them by his divine intermediary, proceeded on the assumption that the gap between Reason and Matter had been properly filled, i.e., that unity of mind and external reality had been achieved. This unity they interpreted in this manner, that every event of the commonest sort could be converted directly into a generalization, and that each generalization, no matter how shallow and flimsy, how common and irrelevant, how temporary or local in substance, was an expression of "Absolute and Eternal Reason." The rule of the "Common-sense," the "*Aufklärung*," the platitudinous, pragmatic, utilitarian mediocrity of the eighteenth century, a caricature, indeed, of true Rationalism, could trace through Descartes' "*deus ex machina*," one line of descent to the doctrine of absolute "Reason."

Descartes was brought up in the Augustinian tradition, which was and still is dominant in the orthodox forms of Christian theology, and found it natural to accept Augustine's belief in a personal God who maintains constant, direct, and efficient though incomprehensible contact with the temporal world. Yet Augustine's conception was essentially disparate from the one inherent in Descartes' Rational-

ism. Augustine's doctrine had marked the decisive departure of medieval theology from the more abstract classical Greco-Christian theology. The Greek idea of God was primarily the logistic one of absolute universal truth, of ideas of Reason. This classical logistic tradition has left distinct traces in the Gospel of John.¹ Augustine's idea, on the other hand, was the dynamic conception of absolute will. He carried it consistently to the point of complete subjection of the human will to the ceaseless active causation of the will of God, which he formulated in his theory of predestination.

It was only in this manner, in the identification of will with the principle of reality, that Augustine could maintain the unity of reality which he had won in his hard inward and outward struggle with Manichaeism. But he had to postulate not Reason but Faith as the primary source of knowledge.

Descartes, on the other hand, based all knowledge on Reason. His position was not dynamic, but logistic. Augustine's conception of the rule of God in the temporal world, which was consistent with his system of faith, became a makeshift and an evasion in Descartes' system of Reason.

Spinoza

Spinoza started with the Cartesian dualism of mind and matter, "res cogitans," and "res extensa." But he drew the new and important conclusion that since neither could affect the other in any way, neither could be conceived as standing even in the relation of priority of time or cause to the other. The apparent connection between the two can be interpreted only as a parallelism, which has to be accepted as a fact. This parallelism seems to point to Leibniz's pre-established harmony.

Concluding further that God, as the only absolute substance, cannot be dual, and must therefore contain both the principles of mind and extension in absolute unity, i.e., not only so that the two in God cease to be different, but so that all the "moduses" in which the two principles have being, i.e., the infinite moduses of any possible reality, must be not merely the attributes but in their totality the substance itself of God; or, in other words, that God cannot be conceived as a separate being, as the creator of all things, as solely "natura natu-

¹ Carl Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche*, 2d ed. (Freiburg, B., 1892), pp. 513 ff., especially 532-38.

rans," but as the universal essence of all things. "*Natura naturans*" and "*natura naturata*" are in Him one. The relation of God to nature is not that of cause and effect in any derivative sense, but that of the triangle to its attributes—absolutely inherent. God is all, both positive and negative. This absolute logical pantheism is Spinoza's attempt to overcome the metaphysical aspect of Descartes's dualism. It is the essential opposite of Augustine's and Descartes's (and also Luther's) doctrine of the active personality of God, which in Spinoza's logic would appear as merely an anthropomorphic embodiment of some particular "modus" of empirical being, of a personification of some particular form of will, and by that specialization be excluded from the very essence of the divine substance, the totality of all the moduses of being. The orthodox persecution of Spinoza and the charge of atheism leveled against him are readily understood.

God is thus, according to Spinoza, both the totality itself of the infinity of the "moduses" of mind and the totality of the infinity of the moduses of matter, in absolute inconceivable identity. Each individual human mind must therefore be a modus of God. Now, a less acute mind than that of Spinoza would have concluded from this, as many followers of Spinoza did, that therefore each individual mind, each soul, was a participant in God. This was actually the conclusion of Malebranche, who postulated God as the "*Raison Universelle*," and interpreted that term as the "locus" of all finite minds. He meant by it that the essence of each individual mind could not be individual but must be of the mind of God himself. This assumption leads to the conclusion that by virtue of its "participation" the individual mind would attain to identity with God through intuition.

Malebranche's conception has the identity of the individual with the divine mind in common both with the earliest Renaissance philosophies of nature, which culminated in Giordano Bruno's cosmic vitalism, and with the even more personalistic tradition of late medieval and early Renaissance Christian mysticism, represented by Meister Eckhart and Johannes Tauler. The difference between the latter two groups lies chiefly in this, that the naturalistic philosophy stressed more the cosmic, the mystical doctrines more the divine nature of the all-inclusive spirit. In the former this supreme spirit was rather a personification of the universe, an animistic vision of

the cosmos. The macrocosm was the chief symbol of Bruno's poetical pantheism. In Christian Mysticism, on the other hand, the universal cosmic perspective was lost in the visionary conception of complete ecstatic surrender to the ubiquitous, all-pervasive and all-peractive, spirit of God. These two conceptions found a historic synthesis in Jakob Boehme's panpsychistic vision of the universe as the organic body of the divine spirit. It was the addition of the organic character, embodied in his symbol of the living world-tree, in his "Aurora," which made his combination of the early nature pan-vitalism and the mystical panspiritualism possible, and built the bridge between his age and that of the psychistic monism of the German Romantic Movement. It was this panpsychistic tradition together with, but predominating over, the more rationalistic conception of totalistic intuition (on which rested Malebranche's doctrine of "universal reason," and "participation"), grafted upon the native tradition of Puritanical religious mysticism, which produced the movement of "transcendentalism" in America.¹

Goethe's early nature pantheism, as it appears in "Ur-Faust" and the philosophic poems of his pre-Weimar period, was dominated, his acquaintance with the Christian mysticism of the Herrenhuter notwithstanding, by the pananimism of the nature mythology of Paracelsus, the subsequent pan-vitalism of the early nature philosophy which culminated in Bruno, and the naturalistic individualism of the eighteenth century. It was not until about 1800, after the rise of Schelling, that Goethe yielded decisively and in considerable measure to the Romantic panpsychism.²

Spinoza avoided the confusion of the two spheres of empirical and metaphysical reality by applying to them the mathematical principle of the incommensurability of the finite and the infinite. This principle had been introduced into metaphysics first by the German bishop, Nicolaus Cusanus (of Kues, near Trier), who lived in the fifteenth century. He represents one of the principal stages in the transformation of the medieval into the modern mind. By using this principle as a criterion for the essential difference between the universal and the individual, and thus fundamentally transforming

¹ Cf. Emerson's "Oversoul."

² See my Introduction to my edition of *Goethe's Poems* (Ginn & Co.), pp. lxi-lxx; and my forthcoming study on *Faust and Wilhelm Meister*.

the scholastic controversy between the "Realists" and the "Nominalists," he gave to the awakening spirit of the Renaissance its first philosophical and theological means of safeguarding individualism against the authoritarianism and universalism of the orthodox "Realists."

Spinoza, following Cusanus, concluded that the human soul can be only the mental entity corresponding to the physical entity of man, but cannot be identical, can have no essential part or connection, with the infinite mind. The human mind is, according to him, no more than the "idea," in the sense of the absolutely separate immaterial parallel, of the human body both of the individual man and of the generality of men.

The relations between man and God, then, must be, according to Spinoza, those of a totality cut in half by the logical incommensurability of the finite and the infinite. Each individual is one of the infinite number of moduses, which in their absolute totality are God. But the reciprocal relation, characteristic of the personalistic conception of totality, in which the whole is inherent in each of its moduses or parts, is excluded.

It was Spinoza's uncompromising Rationalism, his strict adherence to the identification of mind with ratiocination, which forced this schism in his conception of the unity of all things. The conception of every part containing the whole is itself commensurable only with an uncompromising monism. Historically, it has been particularly the psychistic monism of the Romantic view, which has developed without qualifications the reciprocally identical relations of part and whole. This conception acquired, in the Romantic minds, an extraordinary facility in the manipulation of that identity in all its principal applications, in religious, ethical, aesthetic, or generally cosmic, transcendentalism.

However, a mechanistic monism, as was shown by its representatives in the nineteenth century, also encounters no insuperable difficulties in an imaginative vision of reciprocal, mechanistic identities between finite and infinite, empirical and absolute, "forces." Nor would a consistently empirical or hypothetical dualism find it impossible to accept evidence of reciprocal relations of totality between finite things and things real yet not demonstrably finite. It is only a dualism postulated as absolute, i.e., Rationalism, which must consistently stop at the gulf revealed by Spinoza.

There are, however, contained in Spinoza's absolutistic formulations, some ideas and suggestions which were to develop into important factors in the overthrow of Rationalism.

Each individual, according to Spinoza, being one of the infinite moduses of God, must live to the full extent of all his powers. He must not set himself aims which are in conflict with his nature. For his soul, being only the soul of his body, must be fundamentally in harmony with the latter. Asceticism, suppression of natural impulses, purposiveness which would do violence to the natural character, is evil.

Further, each being, as a mode of absolute God, must, if true to himself, be complete and perfect within himself, and so absolute and, formally, eternal. The perfect is beyond time, which is change. This idea influenced deeply the ethical and aesthetic thought of the age of Herder and Goethe. It finds beautiful expression in the lines of Goethe's "Das Göttliche:"

Nur allein der Mensch
 Vermag das Unmögliche.

 Er kann dem Augenblick
 Dauer verleihen.

These three ideas of the duty of the individual to live himself out to the full range of his nature; of the duty not to set himself aims but to understand and obey the fundamental demands of his nature, i.e., to view all the operations of life, as Goethe says,¹ "zwecklos"; and of the identity of perfection with eternity, were, indeed in modified forms, among the most vital parts of the later anti-rationalistic theories of spontaneity and individuality, in which the German classical movement was partly rooted. The doctrine of the native goodness, the primary divinity of the natural man, the deification of spontaneous impulse, which was the central teaching of eighteenth-century Naturalism, was original with Rousseau only in as far as it substituted an opposite principle, that of "feeling," for the rational-

¹ "Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre, Bk. II, chap. 2. The motivation, particularly of the first four books of the *Lehrjahre*, which is a fundamental concrete embodiment of the necessity of obeying the "dunkle Drang," the obscure spontaneous impulse of one's nature, is a comprehensive application of Spinoza's doctrine transformed, in accordance with eighteenth-century naturalism, into an expression of an anti-rationalistic conception of reality. For a detailed discussion see my forthcoming study of *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister*.

istic principle of ratiocination as the primary motive and standard of spontaneity and individuality.

Despite, or perhaps rather in consequence, of the extreme rationalism of his methods and formulations, Spinoza, by his implied doctrine of the passive autonomy of the principle of individuality, deprived Rationalism of much of its substance. But even the remnant proved irksome to an age which had become intensely interested in the world about it, which, as it were, was awakening from a sleep that had darkened its senses for centuries, and was experiencing something of the ecstasy of men opening their eyes on the first morning of the world. This generation was not satisfied with mediate ways of contact with a world of which they felt themselves intensely and intimately part. The rationalistic dualism of mind and matter; the helpless attitude of Rationalism toward the problem of how that world outside could get into this world within, a helplessness of which Descartes' continuous and miraculous intercession of God, or Spinoza's equally miraculous parallelism were obvious disguises; the dogmatic condemnation of this living, glowing, life-sustaining world of "facts," which the naïve mind found it impossible to distinguish from abstract "matter," to primal lifelessness— all these "realities" of Rationalism faded into shadows before the sense-intoxicated vision of the new generation.

2. EMPIRICISM

Sense-ism, Science, Associationism

The inductive method of empiricism had been established by Bacon. It has remained the method of science. By applying, though in a very rudimentary and partial form, this method to the problem of the source of knowledge, Locke became the founder of empirical psychology.

Locke's teaching, especially in the forms which it took among his followers, was called by English writers "Sensualism." The odious connotation of this term, which may have pleased the partisan feelings of its rationalistic adversaries, and of the more "idealistic" of its adherents among the associationists, renders the term unjust and misleading. The term "Sense-ism," preferred among the French writers of the eighteenth century, is more correct.

The sense-istic movement took a great variety of forms, which are at times difficult to define, except by their common aim of seeking the source of knowledge in the senses. All sense-istic theories are bound to the empirical method of approaching reality through concrete evidence. They can, however, be divided into two main groups. The scientific group developed the inductive-quantitative method and technique of demonstration, and came more and more to interpret psychological processes as physiological functions. It inclined in its progress more and more toward the mechanistic hypothesis. The extreme wing of this group, the mechanistic monists, turned the hypothesis into an absolute doctrine.

The other group interpreted psychological processes as typical associative manifestations of inner faculties. Its methods and technique were introspective and qualitative. It created the movement called Associationism.

In the final outcome, the scientific movement prevailed. Sense-ism was absorbed by physiological psychology.

Locke

The founder of associationistic sense-ism is Locke. He attacked the rationalistic dualism through a criticism of the empirical content of consciousness. The soul at birth, he assumed, has no content, but is as a sheet of white paper "void of characters." There are no "innate principles" in the mind, neither theoretical nor practical principles, not even the idea of God. It can be proved by concrete evidence that there is no "consensus gentium" on any principle.

All the ideas then are acquired by the soul after birth. Locke divided ideas into two classes, the "simple" and the "complex" "ideas." The simple "ideas" have as their sources "sensation," or outer perception, and "reflexion," or inner perception. The former precedes the latter.¹ The "complex," i.e., abstract ideas, "made by the mind out of simple ones," the products of reasoning,

¹ Hume amended Locke's terminology by naming the former's simple ideas "impressions," and limiting the term "idea" to Locke's "complex" ideas. Otherwise, Hume's scepticism, which is chiefly a criticism of the logical methods of rationalistic epistemology, has no direct bearing on our problem of the relations between spontaneity and mechanism. Berkeley's "objective idealism," as it is called by Kant also can be left out of account. Berkeley indeed denied all objectivity, placing reality wholly within the mind. But by subjecting the operations of this mind in turn to the demonstrable "laws of nature," he left the problem of the relations of spontaneity and mechanism really unchanged except in so far as he supported in principle the scientific method of induction and demonstration.

are, like reflection, as to their content primarily based on sensation but presuppose certain "faculties of the soul," such as memory, combination, distinction, comparison. Every general idea receives its particular meaning, not from an absolute reason which functions through "intuition," but from the concrete data which it summarizes. Locke undertook to develop a system of "signs," especially those of language, for ascertaining the real meanings and relation of ideas.

Locke's assumption removed the rationalistic conception of matter from the problem of knowledge. The "mind," consisting wholly of associative sense processes, can contain nothing except sense "ideas," i.e., the various types of forms assumed by sense data in accordance with the formal nature of the mind. But it was inevitable that a movement of such historical importance and extent, as Rationalism, kept for a long time a hold on important departments of thought, even among its principal adversaries. Locke retained, as is apparent, essential rationalistic ways of thought. But he restricted Rationalism to the most general conceptions of formal logic. Descartes' "lumen naturale," the absolute generator of ideas, shrank to Locke's "light of nature," the mere agent of formal logic.¹

But though Locke by annexing rationalistic "matter" to the inner reality of his "ideas," rejected the dualism of "matter" and mind, he was compelled to assume an objective principle of reality, which he called "facts" and by which he judged conclusions. Here lies the sense-istic root of the "Aufklärung," the commonsense doctrine of immediate certitude, which made part of the thought of the latter eighteenth century a bog of smugness, platitude, and mental inertia.

Locke's attack on Rationalism was limited to the "contents" of the mind. These, which Descartes had assumed as made, so to speak, of the stuff of Reason, had, according to Locke, a purely empirical origin and had to be accepted as given. But as to the functions of the mind, they were assumed by Locke in essential agreement with Rationalism, to be those of formal logic.

However, the logic essential to Rationalism, was deductive, whereas that essential to empiricism is inductive. The empiricist has to begin every mental process with an analysis of concrete data, whereas the Rationalist assumes that the primary data are inherent in the reason.

¹ See Windelband, *loc. cit.*, p. 378 and n. 2.

Thus the rationalistic dualism of matter and mind is transformed in Locke's associations into that of the empirical part of the mind, the "locus" of "ideas," i.e., associated sense data; and formal logic. The material part of the Rationalistic reality becomes, in Locke's conception, personalistic.

Locke's empiricism involves a modification of the conception of spontaneity. In strict Rationalism spontaneity is identical with Reason, i.e., formal logic. In Locke's empiricism, the emphasis falls on the perceptual function. The logistic part becomes subordinate. The individualistic essence of spontaneity is beginning to emerge.

Leibniz

It is customary to count Locke's great critic, Leibniz, the mathematician and statesman, among the Rationalists. And in a general history of philosophy he would belong largely among them. For in his formulations, reality is determined by ratiocinative logic, i.e., the soul is subordinate to reason, and his primary data are absolutes. But in an account of the conceptions of the relations between spontaneity and mechanism, and particularly of the progress of those conceptions toward that of organic unity, the later works of Leibniz, the "Monadology" and the "New Essays," are of decisive importance. The "New Essays" were the product of his critical study of Locke's essay, and of his attempt to fit his conception of the "monad" to Locke's empiricism. Leibniz is therefore here more properly grouped with Locke. While in his earlier theoretical formulations he followed the rationalistic tradition and technique, with the substance of his later ideas he battered as wide a breach into Rationalism as did Locke.

Leibniz shifted the entire problem of reality from that of knowledge toward that of activity. In his view, spontaneity is not, as in strict Rationalism, including Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, limited to the initiation of the ratiocinative process, but endowed with the universal dynamic function of serving as the first active cause to every part of life. Noting that acting is a more general expression of life than "thinking," he concluded that not "res cogitans" but "Kraft," power, or better, specific energy, is the primary factor of life and the essence of the "soul." In estimating the values of this "Kraft," however, Leibniz followed the rationalistic tradition. "Kraft" is subject to the formal judgment of deductive logic.

Leibniz retained Descartes' distinction of "clear" and "distinct," "klar" and "deutlich." But he modified these terms in accordance with his conception of the primary unit of "Kraft." An apperception according to him is "clear" if it is so precisely distinguished from all others that it assures the recognition of its object, i.e., if it is properly described in its concrete appearance; it is "distinct," if its "clearness" extends to the analytic discernment and comprehension of its component parts, i.e., if it is logically classified with reference to its constituent elements.

Any conception, which is both "clear" and "distinct," is named by Leibniz an "apperception," every conception falling short of clearness and distinctness, any notion, perception, obscure intimation, bare sensation, and thence down to the infinitesimal limit of existence, comes under the head of "petty perception."

Each integral unit of "Kraft" must be "substance," i.e., primary, indivisible, absolutely distinct from every other unit. Each must be a primary unit of some degree of individual spontaneity.

Each one of these units Leibniz named a "monad." These monads he arranged in accordance with their greater or less degree of "clearness" and "distinctness" in a series of infinitesimal calculus, one end of which extended upward through all the possible gradations of active human intelligence to God as the supreme limit, the divine "monad" or universal power; and the other downward through all the possible gradations of infinitesimal diminution of energy toward the infinite lower limit of absolute nought of "Kraft."

Leibniz expressed his conception of the absolute individuality of the monad by the metaphor: "Monads have no windows." By virtue of its absolutely integral character, no monad can communicate with any other. A monad cannot give to another nor receive from it. It cannot even be aware of any reality outside of itself. The life and development of each monad must proceed therefore absolutely as an unfoldment of its inner nature. No monad can be influenced, favorably or unfavorably, by any external condition or circumstance. A genetic environment and organic relationship with Nature or the world, is non-existent for the monad.

The inevitable result of this absolute isolation of each individual unit of spontaneous "Kraft" would be cosmic anarchy, a chaos of ceaseless collisions between these infinite numbers of self-sufficient

integral forces. Leibniz found no way out of the dilemma except by the device of a re-creation of the rationalistic "deus ex machina," or personification of an absolute "first cause." This device was the "Pre-established Harmony," by virtue of which each individual contained within itself the sum of the universe and therefore acted spontaneously in harmony with the divine order established in the best of possible worlds.

The fiction of the Pre-established Harmony was the price exacted by the rationalistic absolutism in which Leibniz clothed his idea of the monad. Stripped of the rationalistic formalism, the theory of the monad means the substitution of the principle of specific individuality for that of formal abstraction as the primary factor of reality. Leibniz overcame the rationalistic dualism of living mind and dead matter by identifying the latter with the lower and the former with the upper orders of the continuous hierarchy of monads. The "res extensa" of Descartes' and Spinoza's dualism ceases to exist. A universal vitalism of infinite gradations of individual "powers" embraces all reality. Each definable integral principle of reality is a living entity, which cannot be duplicated or replaced in all space and time.

This primacy of individuality, conceived as absolute, dynamic, specific spontaneity, with all its faults of rationalistic absolutism and intellectualism, was the first attempt to give comprehensive and original expression in German philosophy to the principle which was to dominate modern humanistic thought.

However, the traditional scholasticism of Leibniz' methods and conceptions, of the "substances," "essences," "absolutes," the logistic formalism of his analysis, soon lost their hold upon an age characterized by a self-confident, passionate, energetic sense of concrete individuality—the same sense which must have been the creative motive, working obscurely beneath the rationalistic forms, of Leibniz' thought. His followers, and particularly Baumgarten, the inventor of the term "aesthetics," Bodmer and Breitinger, and above all, Herder, were to develop the idea of dynamic individuality to its full significance.

MARTIN SCHÜTZE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[To be continued]

THE "PESSIMISM" OF MANUEL DE CABANYES

A number of terms which are comparatively frequent in the history of nineteenth-century literature—*mal du siècle*, Byronism, *Weltschmerz*, *desengaño*, and the like—indicate the working of psychological forces which have hardly from a comparative standpoint been as yet adequately studied.¹ An understanding of the words themselves is sufficient to show that they are by no means identical, though in practice they tend to shade into each other, and hence become confused. To this, or to the looseness of current literary phraseology, is attributable the frequent use of one word to include them all. Unfortunately, the word in question is the most unsuitable of any; though it has a definite scientific connotation it is now debased in popular speech beyond hope of recovery. This word is "pessimism."

As contributions toward a comparative account of these forces in literature a number of short studies of the writers whom they affected or moulded may have some value. I propose here to consider one of the least known of these writers, the Spaniard Manuel de Cabanyes,² who nevertheless has not escaped being called a "pessimist" like the rest. The English student (to take one example) may read of Cabanyes that "his felicities are those of the accomplished student, the expert in technicalities, the almost impeccable artist whose hendecasyllabics, *A Cintio*, rival those of Leopardi in their perfect form and intense pessimism."³

¹ In the introduction to some selections from Alfred de Vigny (Manchester: University Press, 1918), I attempted a short comparative sketch; but it is meant only to throw a new light on Vigny's work and is merely suggestive of what might be done in its field.

² Manuel de Cabanyes (1808–33) was born and died at Villanueva y Geltrú, near Barcelona; he studied at the Universities of Cervera, Valencia and Zaragoza, and after graduation in civil law worked for two years at literature. He had just published his first book of verse (*Preludios de mi Lira*) when he developed an acute form of phthisis and died at the age of twenty-five.

³ J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly: *History of Spanish Literature*, Heinemann, p. 372. The judgment as a whole is open to serious objections, were it relevant here to discuss more than the final words. These were retained in the Spanish edition of 1901: "Cuyos endecasílabos *A Cintio* rivalizan con los de Leopardi en perfección formal y profundo pesimismo," but altered radically in that of 1913 (V. Suárez) where we read:

"Pero los admirables hendecasílabos *A Cristo* (sic!!) inclinan a creer que hubiera aceptado sin dificultad el romanticismo."

(In the later editions the unfortunate misprint is corrected).

So far as I have been able to discover from a somewhat detailed enquiry and from researches undertaken at Villanueva y Geltrú, Cabanyes' home, there are three places only where anything approaching "pessimism" can be found in his published or unpublished works: (1) In the poem *A Cintio*; (2) in the choice for translation into Spanish of Alfieri's *Mirra*; (3) in those of his private letters which are extant.

1. "A Cintio" begins, it is true, in "Byronic" vein:

¡Ay! de mi triste juventud, o Cintio,
¡Cuál se arrastran inútiles los días
Y sin placer!¹

And, after lamenting that the fantasm of glory has proved an illusion, goes on to ask what is the purpose of life:

¿De qué, Cintio, sirvió que esa existencia
Del hondo caos la quietud dejase?²

"Man is but a drop of water swept away by some great current; he dies and is forgotten—even his grave is unnoticed."³

Thus far we follow Leopardi,⁴ but no sooner has the poet reached the problem of the pessimist than he meets it with the conventional religious reply.⁵ "Man has been condemned to suffer for the sins of his first father, and suffer he shall till creation turns to chaos and the Almighty voice declares: 'It is enough.'" This is the "eternal law," and when the poet hears it he can only weep:

Yo aturdido,
Bien fuese de dolor o de despecho,
Bien de placer, humedecido el rostro
Con el llanto sentí que derramaba.⁶

2. That Cabanyes, when a youth of twenty-three,⁷ should have selected for translation a play like *Mirra*⁸ with its repulsive plot centering round the incestuous love of the heroine for her father, is

¹ P. 58 of my edition (Manchester: University Press), entitled *The Poems of Manuel de Cabanyes*. The only other edition of the poems being long since out of print I quote from this throughout, often, for lack of space, giving references only, and abbreviating: "Cab."

² Cab., p. 59.

³ Cab., p. 60.

⁴ Though Cabanyes probably had not read Leopardi (Cab., p. 5-8) and any resemblances would therefore be accidental.

⁵ Cab., p. 60.

⁶ Cab., p. 61.

⁷ Cab., p. 8.

⁸ The only edition of Cabanyes' works in which this translation is to be found is that of 1858 (*Producciones escogidas de D. Manuel de Cabanyes*, Barcelona: Verdaguier, 1858).

undoubtedly a suggestive fact. It would at first sight seem as though forces were at work in his mind of which no other trace has been left. For if we argue that the tone of the play and not its story was what attracted him, the reply will be that this tone is one of dull and lachrymose despondency until at the catastrophe it changes to the violence of despair.¹

One fact may, however, account for the singular, almost unnatural choice. There are signs that Cabanyes was at the time under the direct influence of the works of Byron,² with whose history Alfieri's play is associated. Cabanyes may well have read how, fourteen years earlier, at Bologna, the English poet was so much affected by its performance that he was unable to remain to the end. "There came a point in the tragedy," wrote an eye-witness, "at which he could no longer restrain his emotion: he burst into tears, and, his sobs preventing him from remaining in the box, he rose and left the theatre."³ It would be natural enough if the impressionable Cabanyes, reading first of Byron's experience and then the play in Italian, should be similarly affected and resolve to attempt a translation.

3. The letters of Cabanyes which are extant were all written to Roca y Cornet (the "Cintio" of the poem of that name) between 1831 and 1833. They reveal to us, first, the student absorbed in his work and his private reading, and secondly, the graduate, freed from the routine of the university, endeavouring to settle down to a literary life. Their principal interest is literary, for the two young men were strongly attracted by the prospect of founding a "modern Catalan school" of poetry,⁴ and were collaborating both in productive and critical undertakings. Alas, that the more hopeful of the two was so soon to be cut down! I cannot trace in these letters anything indicative of "pessimism" or even of *desengaño*—other than a rare and passing despondency which is no more than a reaction from

¹ *Cab.*, pp. 31–33.

² E.g., the quotation from *Don Juan* in the preface to the *Preludios* (*Cab.*, pp. 47–48), and the presence in Cabanyes' library of the 1822 (Paris) edition of Byron in sixteen volumes (p. 7).

³ See Byron's Works, ed. Prothero (Murray) revised edition, 1900, p. 340, note.

⁴ See Letter of 19 May 1833 (*Cab.*, pp. 131–32) in which we learn that Quintana, to whom a copy of the *Preludios* had been sent, had spoken in flattering terms of Cabanyes as being of the "moderna escuela catalana"—an idea which evidently touched the young poet's imagination.

youthful high spirits, and which Cabanyes himself expressly attributes to likely enough causes:

He concluido mi carrera. Falta saber qué es lo que haré yo ahora, y en verdad que no lo sé. Mi suerte, como la de muchos jóvenes en el día, es tan incierta, tan vaga, que me causa no pocos momentos de tristeza.¹

These are the sole grounds upon which Cabanyes can be classed with Espronceda as a poet of disillusion. They are frail enough, and, if any further reason were required for discrediting such a classification entirely, a sufficiently strong one could be found in the poet's biography. For it appears that he suffered a disappointment in love which embittered the latest years of his life and is reflected in two of his poems: "Perdón, celeste Virgen"² and "Yo te adoré."³

We shall do better, then, to consider, and wonder at, the strain of optimism in Cabanyes' poetry—to consider him as the poet, not of disillusion or "pessimism," but of freedom, of patriotism and of faith. None sounded more clearly the herald notes of Romanticism than Cabanyes in "La Independencia de la Poesía;"⁴ none was a truer son to Spain than the poet of "El Oro"⁵ and "Colombo."⁶ There can hardly be devotional poetry more sincere than "La Misa Nueva,"⁷ nor can the theme "Love's not time's fool" have had more simple and downright expression than in "Yo te adoré ..." It is by these, or by the exquisite and prophetic lines "A la luna,"⁸ that Manuel de Cabanyes should be remembered, rather than by half of one poem which he might well have lived to regret, and a repellent Italian drama which he translated without a thought of its publication.

E. ALLISON PEERS

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL
LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND

¹ Cab., p. 127.

² Cab., p. 76.

³ Cab., p. 87. Cf. also "Fatal lauro de victoria," p. 93.

⁴ Cab., p. 48. ⁵ Cab., p. 51. ⁶ Cab., p. 78. ⁷ Cab., p. 61. ⁸ Cab., p. 89.

POLITICAL PROPAGANDA AND SATIRE IN *A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM*

In 1914, while preparing an American edition of the Arden *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I observed that the pageantry in Oberon's vision (II, i, 148 ff.) fits much better the magnificent fête at Elvetham in 1591, given by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, than its prototype at Kenilworth, given by Leicester in 1575. At the same time, it seemed much more likely that Shakespeare would associate with a compliment to the Queen a recent occasion about which she had openly expressed the pleasure it gave her than one twenty years old the memory of which must have revived painful experiences.¹ But, on the other hand, what had Shakespeare to do with the Earl of Hertford, or the Earl of Hertford with a compliment to the Queen? Ever since Warburton's attempt to read allegory into the passage, it has generally been recognized that the lines contain topical matter of some kind, but all theories evolved fail in one respect—they fail to motivate its introduction.² With these ideas in mind, I resolved to examine the evidence connecting Elvetham with the play and the Earl of Hertford with a compliment to the Queen. This investigation is not yet concluded and cannot be while there is an Elizabethan document unread; but the facts it has brought to light thus far and the theories they have suggested are in themselves so startling and so important for the interpretation of Shakespeare's work that it has seemed best to submit them for the consideration of scholars even in their incomplete and tentative form.

¹ According to Halpin ("Oberon's Vision," *Shakespeare Soc. Publ.*, 1843), the "little western flower" was Lettice Knollys, Countess of Essex, the Queen's cousin, whom Leicester married when he felt that he could never win the Queen. But why should Shakespeare revive a state of mind that had kept Lettice Knollys from court for almost twenty years?

² For a convenient summary of early theories, cf. Aldis Wright, in the Clarendon Press edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1894), pp. xii ff.

In 1916, Mr. E. K. Chambers, in *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, pp. 154 ff., argued ably that the occasion referred to might as well have been Elvetham as Kenilworth.

In *L'Opinion* (23 octobre, 1920), p. 452, M. Abel le Franc pointed out additional correspondences; and in *L'Illustration* (30 octobre, 1920), p. 320, above the signature "A. C." is a summary of M. le Franc's ideas, in connection with his theory that the Earl of Derby wrote Shakespeare's plays, and also the cut reproduced in the present paper.

I. PROPAGANDA FOR THE SUFFOLK HEIR TO THE THRONE

1. *The reflection of Elvetham in "A Midsummer Night's Dream."*—

That Shakespeare's lines refer to Elvetham is seen at once by comparing them with the contemporary account of Hertford's fête¹ and especially with the contemporary drawing reproduced below. Shakespeare's lines read:

Oberon. My gentle Puck, come hither. Thou rememberest
 Since once I sat upon a promontory,
 And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back
 Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
 That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
 And certain stars shot madly from their spheres
 To hear the sea-maid's music.

Puck.

I remember.

Oberon. That very time I saw, but thou couldst not,
 Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
 Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took
 At a fair vestal throned by the west,
 And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
 As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
 But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
 Quenched in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
 And the imperial votaress passed on,
 In maiden meditation, fancy-free.²

The "promontory" is seen to the north. The pond was dug in a "bottom" among hills, and was described as drawn from the sea and shaped like a crescent moon, to symbolize the growing sea power of the Queen.³

¹ A pamphlet published immediately after the event, in three editions, of which the second was reprinted by Nichols in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. II, under the title: "The Honorable Entertainement given to the Quenes Majestie in Progresse, at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honorable the Earle of Hertford, 1591." Nichols added a list of emendations from the third edition, described as "Newlie corrected and amended," and also the drawing from the third edition reproduced below. Cf. R. Warwick Bond, in his edition of Lyly, I, 431 ff. Mr. Bond also reprints the pamphlet. My quotations are from the 1788 Nichols. The fact that so insignificant a work went into three editions indicates either great public curiosity about the affair it describes or great concern on the part of someone to get it before the public eye.

² *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 1, 148 ff. References are to the Globe edition.

³ Nichols, *loc. cit.*, p. 3.

The "mermaid"¹ stands on the "dolphin's back"—metaphor for ship²—approaching the Queen, who is literally "throned by the west." Observe the word *West* near the throne.

At Kenilworth, the topography and circumstances were quite different. The Queen *stood* on a bridge at the *east* end of the lake and the water pageants approached her *from* the west. Triton³



¹ According to the pamphlet, Neëra, chief of the Nereids. Shakespeare did not distinguish between Nereids and mermaids (cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, ii, 211 f.). Nor did North, whose Plutarch he seems to have used for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (cf. p. 175, ed. Skeat).

An amusing blunder shows that the artist considered Neëra a mermaid. He knew that a mermaid was supposed to have a glass in her hand; but he put in the more familiar hourglass instead of the traditional mirror.

² In Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, which shows influence from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (cf. pp. 63 f., below), occur these lines:

"The Sea-God hath vpon your maiden shoares,
(On Dolphins backs that pittie men distrest)
In safetie sett a people that implores
The Soueraigne mercie flowing from your brest
[*Works* (ed. 1873), II, 218 f.].

As Dekker refers to a historical embassy from the Netherlands, it is safe to assume that he has in mind *ships*, and was remembering the figure used by Shakespeare (or perhaps elsewhere, although I have not found it).

³ Cf. Laneham's "Account of the Queen's Entertainment at Killingworth Castle, 1575," pp. 3 ff. and 26 ff., and Gascoigne's "Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle," pp. 66 ff., both in Nichols, *op. cit.*, I.

made a speech from a boat constructed to represent a mermaid; Arion¹ sang from a dolphin's back; and the Lady of the Lake made a speech from a floating island;² but there was not as there was at Elvetham a mermaid singing from a dolphin's back.³

At Elvetham the mermaid's singing was a striking feature; and as extraordinary fireworks also graced the last night of the Queen's visit, no great effort of imagination was required to combine the two.⁴

The direct compliment to the Queen refers to a vision of Cupid shooting his arrow at her, which Oberon saw but Puck could not. Why not? Obviously Oberon meant that he saw it in his "mind's eye." The lines, then, are purely allegorical⁵ and say that the

¹ Or Proteus. The accounts vary.

² *Ibid.*

³ It is by no means impossible that the Elvetham ship may have had a dolphin as figurehead. The design was too common to have called for notice by the writer of the pamphlet, and the agreements and disagreements between the illustration for the second edition (A) and that for the third (B) show that the artist or artists depended largely upon the pamphlet for details, each picture emphasizing different points. For instance, A gives details mentioned in the text about the Fort and the Snail Mount, which do not appear in B, and B works out with great care the drawing of the Queen in her chair of state, which does not appear at all in A. Both drawings differ from the text on some points, and the author declares repeatedly that he has had to omit many details. In all these ways a dolphin figurehead may have dropped out.

Even so, it is not necessary to suppose that Shakespeare's metaphor grew out of observation of it. For one reason, it is almost certain that in the winter of 1594-95 he read another pamphlet, very important to this argument (cf. pp. 66 f., below), in which there is a description of a pageant ship with dolphin figurehead; and he may easily have confused the two accounts, or transferred the detail.

But it is not necessary to suppose even this. Would not any ship in the Thames bearing this common type of figurehead have been enough to suggest the metaphor?

⁴ Cf. the speech of the Fairy Queen at Elvetham: "For amorous starres fall nightly in my lap" (Nichols, *loc. cit.*, p. 21). The idea may have lingered in Shakespeare's mind and suggested his figure. The "rude sea" may be another echo. The Elvetham pond symbolized the sea and on it was staged a battle between the sea-gods and the wood-gods, which was immediately followed by the oration of Nereus, and might have been described as quelled ("grew civil") by her voice (though her song preceded the battle, *ibid.*, p. 17). But it is not necessary to insist upon complete correspondence of detail. A general echo in the verse of the main features of the pageantry is all that was likely to survive from Shakespeare's reading of the pamphlet, and was quite sufficient to remind the Queen of the occasion.

⁵ But doubtless suggested by the account in the pamphlet of the fireworks, and perhaps by an episode in which Sylvanus, for courting Nereus, is ducked by Nereus with the comment that "water will extinguish wanton fire" (*ibid.*, p. 16). The idea was a commonplace. But Shakespeare had certainly read Spenser's tribute to the Queen as Belphoebe (*Faerie Queene*, II, iii, 23):

"the blinded god his lustful fyre
To kindle oft assayd, but had no myght;
For, with dredd Majestie and awfull yre,
She broke his wanton darts, and quenched bace desire."

and cf. p. 61, n. 2, below. As at Elvetham the fiery darts of the fireworks were quenched in the crescent moon of the pond, so the invisible darts of love were quenched in the "chaste beams of the watery moon" (Elizabeth). On the use of *watery* to suggest sea-power, cf. *Gesta Grayorum*, which Shakespeare seems to have read in the winter of 1594 (see below): "But Cynthia, praised be your wat'ry reign" (Nichols, *op. cit.*, II, 47).

Queen had been showered with love enough to "pierce a hundred thousand hearts" and had "passed on"¹ unmoved.

Compare with Shakespeare's lines the following quotation from the address of welcome to the Queen at Elvetham:

O sweete Elisa, grace me with a looke,
Or from my browes this laurell wreath will fall,
And I, unhappy, die amidst my song.
Under my person Semer² hides himselfe,
His mouth yeelds prayers, his eie the olive branch;
His praiera betoken duety, th' olive peace;
His duety argues love, his peace faire rest;
His love will smooth your minde, faire rest your body.
This is *your Semers* heart and quality:
To whom all things are joyes, while thou art present,
To whom nothing is pleasing in thine absence.³

As evidence of this extravagant devotion Hertford had spent a fortune in preparing for the Queen, from the moment that "his honorable good frendes in court neare to her Majestie"⁴ told him that she was coming near Elvetham in her progress. Instead of retreating from the inconvenient and expensive honor,⁵ he hired three hundred workmen, to enlarge the house, to dig the Great Pond with its three large islands, and to build on its banks a village for the entertainment of the court. He hired musicians, poets, dancers, and a whole company of actors; he provided tons of ordnance and fireworks; he provided most expensive properties, such as the pinnace and other

¹ Appropriate enough, as she was on a progress. It is scarcely necessary to refer to the fact that Elizabeth required this sort of flattery from her courtiers, married and unmarried. Even when Raleigh was in prison for marrying Elizabeth Throgmorton (1592), he had to pretend that his chief trouble was separation from the Queen who was Diana and Venus in person (Tytler, *Life of Raleigh* [1833], p. 133, quoting a letter written by Raleigh himself). Cf. also Spenser's extravagant praise of her as Cynthia, the lady of the sea, in "Colin Clout's Come Home Again" (1591). A letter from Henry IV of France to Elizabeth, August 5, 1591, quoted by Hume (*The Great Lord Burghley* [1898], p. 448, n. 1), illustrates exactly the tone used by those who flattered her, and bears comparison with the lines of Hertford's poets. The French king expressed his desire to kiss her hands and "to be at her side two hours so that he might have the happiness, at least once in his life, of having seen her to whom he had vowed his body and all that he should ever have, and whom he loved and revered more than anything there was in the world."

² Seymour.

³ Nichols, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8 f. Italics mine.

⁴ Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 2. These included the most influential men about her: Burghley, Sir Robert Cecil, Essex, and Hertford's brother-in-law, the Lord Admiral Howard (see below).

⁵ Elvetham was only a hunting box, scarcely larger than a farmhouse.

boats and the chair of state; and he purchased magnificent presents for the Queen herself. The scale of the hospitality is suggested by the fact that, besides the Queen's private dining-room, there were seven halls, each with a table sixty-nine feet long, for feasting the countryside; and that at the chief banquet, there were served a thousand dishes, all in glass or silver, carried in by two hundred of the Earl's gentlemen accompanied by a hundred torch-bearers. There can be little doubt that Hertford had it in mind to outdo the traditional splendors of Kenilworth.¹ And why?

2. *Hertford's relations with the Queen.*—If, then, Shakespeare's lines reflect at every point this superb hospitality, the first step toward finding out why is to understand on what terms Hertford stood with the Queen.

So thoroughly known and so often repeated are the facts of the Earl's life that they can here be summarized in a few words. The son of Elizabeth's step-uncle, the Lord Protector Somerset, and nephew of Queen Jane Seymour, the successor of Anne Boleyn, he might be described as her first cousin by marriage. In 1560 he married secretly her chief maid of honor, Lady Katherine Grey, her first cousin once removed (daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, whose mother was sister to Elizabeth's father). Shortly before the birth of a son, Lady Katherine confessed the marriage. The Queen was furious, not merely because she claimed the right to control the marriages of her relatives, but primarily because by two acts of Parliament and by the will of Henry VIII, any legitimate child of Lady Katherine Grey stood next in the succession to the throne. The offenders were imprisoned. An ecclesiastical commission appointed in 1562 declared the marriage null and the child illegitimate. In January, 1568, Lady Katherine died of harsh treatment and a broken heart. Her husband continued in durance until 1571. Some time later, he married Lady Frances Howard, and was again received at court. In 1580 he was given his patrimony and became enormously rich. From that year on² secretly he entered in the Court of Arches

¹ One of the poets hired was Nicholas Breton, step-son of George Gascoigne, who had helped to devise the Kenilworth fêtes.

² For evidence that he began much earlier, cf. p. 62, n. 5, below.

year after year, a protest against the finding of the ecclesiastical commission.¹

On these grounds, it is clear that while Hertford had little reason to love the Queen, he had more reason than any other man in England to flatter her into belief of his extravagant devotion. At the end of her visit she "openly" promised him her "especiall favour," although in the third edition of the pamphlet her promise was—diplomatically, no doubt—softened to a declaration that she would not "forget" his hospitality.² Whatever the Queen said, the Earl's position remained unchanged until an event occurred on July 23, 1595, the result of which brought him in October of that year to the Tower in peril of his life. This event was the death of Dr. William Aubrey, master of requests, through whom Hertford had been recording the claim of his heir; and the result was the appointment of a successor who promptly betrayed the secret to the Queen. How long this danger was foreshadowed by knowledge of Aubrey's approaching death we do not know; but finding, as we do, in a play written about 1594–95 a compliment to the Queen immediately associated with an allusion to Hertford's show of devotion to her in 1591, we may at least assume that this second urging of affection unrewarded was not unrelated to some sense of the danger in which he stood. The probability grows if we remember: (1) that by the judgment of 1562 Hertford had no heir to his titles and estates; (2) that by

¹ These facts and all others mentioned in connection with the marriage can be readily substantiated from the following sources:

Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History* (2d series), II, 272 ff.

Notes and Queries (8th series), VII, 121 ff., 161 f., 283 ff., 342 f., 422 ff.; VIII, 2 f., 82 f., 233; XII, 65.

Cal. S.P. Dom., 1547–80, Addenda 1547–65; *Cal. S.P. For.*, 1558–66; *Cal. S.P. Span.*, 1558–67, 1568–79—indexes.

Cal. Salisbury MSS., I, V, XIII—indexes.

Haynes, *State Papers* (1740), 369, 378, 396, 404 f., 411 ff.

Hardwicke, *State Papers* (1778), I, 177 f., 187 f.

D'Ewes, *Journal* (1693), pp. 79 f., 102 ff., 130 f.

Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times*, I, 7 f., 69, 129, 172, 180, 184 f.

Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (1824), I, ii, 117 ff.; *Life of Sir Thomas Smith* (1820), pp. 92 ff.

Camden, *History of Queen Elizabeth* (1688), pp. 58–59.

Wiltshire *Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, XV, 189 ff.

Cf. also: Ailkin, *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, Craik, *Romance of the Peerage*, II, 260 ff.; Davey, *The Sisters of Lady Jane Grey*; Strickland, *Queens of England and Tudor Princesses*, and A. Audrey Locke, *The Seymour Family*.

² Nichols, *loc. cit.*, cf. pp. 23 and 28.

admitting the legality of the marriage, the Queen automatically appointed her successor—hence, her obstinacy; and (3) that however much Hertford in past years had joined in promoting the claim of his son to the throne, he might have been willing, in view of his increasing danger, to compromise—or to seem to compromise—by securing the mere legitimization of his son. If this was the case, he might easily have hit upon the idea of reminding the Queen in a play of the general situation and of her own obligations to him, as preliminary to a more specific presentation of his plea. On this hypothesis, the next step is to scrutinize the play itself for more topical matter sufficiently disguised to have got by the censor.

3. *Signs of propaganda in the play.*—The logic of II, i, 1–187 is as follows:

Puck (Oberon's attendant) tells the Fairy (Titania's attendant) that his master and her mistress never meet without quarreling over a changeling whom Titania has stolen from an Indian king and whom Oberon wishes to have as his knight.

The Fairy without comment changes the subject to the pranks of Robin Goodfellow.

Oberon and Titania enter in the moonlight quarreling because she is jealous of Hippolyta (not to speak of Phillida) and he of Theseus, whom, he says, she has lured from earlier loves.

She attributes this charge to his jealousy, and without another word describes the year of abnormal weather and declares it due to their quarrel.

He retorts that only she (why?) can amend it by giving him the "changeling" boy for his "henchman."

This she refuses on the ground that she is bringing him up by the wish of his dying mother, who had been her friend and attendant and a "votaress" of her "order" (what order?).

She invites him to her fairy revels in the moonlight, but he refuses, and proceeds to his revenge exactly as if she had said no word in her defense.

Calling Puck to him, he reminds Puck of the scene from the "promontory" and the singing of the mermaid, and then mentions something that Puck had not seen, the failure of Cupid's arrow, launched at the time, to have any effect upon the "fair vestal."

He then sends Puck for the magic flower, Love-in-Idleness, with which he means to punish Titania for her obstinacy by making her dote upon the first creature she sees.

In this summary several striking facts appear:

1) Out of 187 lines, more than a hundred could be omitted without interfering to the slightest degree with the action.

2) In a scene that begins and ends with a reference to the moonlight (cf. ll. 60 and 141), thirty-three lines (ll. 82-114) are given to a description of atrocious weather.

3) Puck gives one explanation of the Indian boy; Titania, another that is quite inconsistent with it.

4) The Fairy does not contradict Puck, nor does Oberon contradict Titania.

5) Two entirely inconsistent explanations of the weather are given by Titania: (a) the mutual jealousy of the fairies (l. 81) and (b) their disagreement about the boy.

6) Titania is certainly Oberon's wife (ll. 61 ff.); but she is also the head of an "order" to which the "votaress" belongs. What it was is clear from the name *Titania*, which every educated Elizabethan knew was an epithet used by Ovid for Diana.¹ Moreover, the order itself had been referred to earlier in the play:

Or on Diana's altar to protest
For aye austerity and single life [I, i, 89-90].

So Oberon's wife (l. 62) is here patroness of the order to which Elizabeth herself belonged ("imperial votaress," l. 163; "fair vestal," l. 158).²

7) The original motive for the quarrel between Oberon and Titania is (a) contradicted by their double exhibition of marital jealousy, (b) removed by Titania's defense, and (c) returned to as if the intervening hundred lines did not exist.

¹ *Metamorphoses*, III, 173.

² The best illustration of Shakespeare's meaning is in Lyly's *Gallathea* (which Shakespeare imitated in his *Love's Labor's Lost*), III, iv, 27 ff.: "Shall it be said . . . —that Diana the goddess of chastity, whose thoughts are alwaies answerable to her *vowes* [*italics mine*], whose eyes neuer glanced on desire, and whose hart abateth the poynt of Cupid's arrowes shall haue her virgins to become vnchast in desires, immoderate in affection . . . ?" This is taken to refer to Elizabeth and her maids of honor (Bond, *op. cit.*, II, 424, 454). Perhaps Lyly suggested also the term *vestal* for Elizabeth for he says also: "Can Cupid's brands quench Vesta's flames . . . ?" (*Gall.*, III, i, 10 f.). Shakespeare had probably read the play, of which the only known quarto is dated 1592.

8) Although Titania is punished because she will not yield to Oberon about the boy, the magic flower by which she is punished receives its evil properties from her coldness to one who had shown her overwhelming devotion at the time of the pageant!

What explanation other than topical can there be for such a tangle of inconsistent and contradictory ideas?

On the hypothesis that Titania's explanation refers to a real woman, let us see first how it agrees with the facts about Lady Katherine Grey. As kinswoman and first maid of honor to her whom Spenser later called the "Faerie Queene," she had "gossip'd"¹ with her and sat with her "on Neptune's yellow sands," at Westminster and at Greenwich where the Thames is still a tidal river; and it was at Ipswich by the sea that her confession was made. At Greenwich there were many "embarked traders" to have suggested Shakespeare's figure.² Lady Katherine Grey was the one woman in England whom the Queen chiefly desired to keep as a "votaress" of Diana³; and she had had a son whose birth proved the cause of her death. He had been left in the charge of the Queen, who obviously did feel some responsibility about his bringing up, and even while denying his legal status, allowed him to use the courtesy title, Lord Beauchamp,⁴ to which an illegitimate son had no claim whatever.⁵

¹ Is there possibly a reminiscence in the word "gossip" of the fact that Lady Katherine's mother had been the Queen's godmother—(Cranmer, *Works*, Parker Soc., p. 274)?

² As Van Wyngaerde's drawing shows.

For ll. 127-32 I can give no satisfactory interpretation. The figure there is one of Dekker's borrowings (*op. cit.*, II, 262): "He sweares the windes haue got the salles with childe."

In view of the extraordinary uses made of masque and drama to convey political information and to try out royal attitudes, it is not impossible that the reference is to something of the sort by which an effort was made to break the news of the marriage and of the coming heir to the Queen. Of such a performance there is no evidence whatever. But, on the other hand, what does the passage mean, taken alone?

³ Her deep-rooted objection to the marriage of any of her maids is well known; but that was a trifle over against her state of mind when Lady Katherine's son supplied an heir to the throne.

⁴ Cf. *Cal.S.P.Span.* (1568-79), p. 229; *Cal.S.P.Dom.* (1581-90), pp. 70 ff.; Collins, *Sydney Papers* (1746), I, 356 ff.

⁵ The objection may be raised that Lady Katherine had two sons while the play mentions but one. Answer might be made that only one of them was the heir in question. It is not, however, certain that the one was Lord Beauchamp; it may have been his younger brother, Thomas, who was sometimes so regarded. Curiously enough, Hertford's plea in the Court of Arches (*Cal.S.P.Dom.* [1581-90], pp. 554, 626, 694; *ibid.* [1591-94], pp. 121, 281 f.; and *ibid.* [1595-97], p. 122) was made in the name of the younger son with one exception when it was made for both (for evidence that Hertford began this

Now these parallelisms, so far as I know, cannot be made in the case of any other of Elizabeth's maids of honor. But equally significant is the mystery about the position of the "votaress" in the text. There is no hint of husband or lover; there is no word of blame for the breaking of her vows as a member of the "order" of Diana. And Diana herself is speaking! The emphasis on the early relationship of Titania and her attendant, on the tragic death of the attendant and on Titania's care for her son actually construes the Queen's harshness toward her cousin as an attitude of kindness, which almost certainly represented her own feeling about the affair.

This second topical allusion, then, can be explained by the story of Lady Katherine Grey and motivated as the basis of a further plea for her son.

But if Elizabeth was to identify herself with Titania¹ in this scene, what was she to think of her quarrel with Oberon about a boy? Who was Oberon? Who was the boy? It is not a little curious to find in Dekker's drama of political allegory, *The Whore of Babylon*, in which echoes of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* are plain,²

protest as early as 1562, cf. Haynes, *loc. cit.*, and *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, XIII, 517). In one record, Thomas Beauchamp states that he "has been publicly reputed" as legitimate (*Cal.S.P.Dom.* [1591-94], p. 281). The only way in which he could have had an advantage over his elder brother was through a repetition of the marriage ceremony; and indeed a Spanish agent wrote to Philip, May 24, 1572, that "It has been claimed that the second son is the heir to his father, as his parents were married before he was born with the consent of the Queen and Council" (*Cal.S.P.Span.* [1568-79], p. 393). While this is obviously untrue as regards the Queen, it is quite possible that some of the Council may have connived at such a repetition, to make sure of a legitimate heir. Father Parsons, in his notorious book on the succession, which circulated in manuscript long before it was published in September, 1595, is said to name among the heirs the *second* son of the Earl of Hertford (*Cal. Border Papers*, II, 104). Mysterious as all this is, it suggests a good reason for mentioning only one son.

Although Lady Katherine did not die for some years, her death was directly attributable to the physical and mental suffering caused by "that boy" (cf. the letters quoted by Ellis and in *Notes and Queries*, p. 59, n. 1, above).

¹ Throughout her reign she had been called by the various names of Diana; and in 1590 Spenser had made her famous as the "Faerie Queene." How could she have failed to think of herself as Titania? Note also the atmosphere of her court suggested by II, i, 1-12, 15, 18.

² As Miss Hunt argues (*Thomas Dekker* [1911], pp. 36 ff.), it seems probable that Dekker's play was written before August, 1596, when Essex returned from his triumph at Cadiz. As the theme of the play is the struggle between Elizabeth and her Catholic opponents, and as the history of her reign is carried down to the execution of Dr. Lopez in 1594, it seems incredible that at any time between 1596 and 1600 Dekker should have omitted so signal a feat. But by the time the play was revised for production in the seventeenth century, both Cadiz and Essex would have passed out of the public mind.

In slight confirmation of Miss Hunt's theory, it may be mentioned that Dekker bases several elaborate metaphors on floods (*op. cit.*, II, 208, 217 f., 233), which suggest the year of floods, 1594-95.

Titania identified with Elizabeth and Oberon with Henry VIII.¹ In the *Faerie Queene*, Oberon is Henry VIII;² but so far as we know now, Titania is first found in English in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Not only so, but Dekker introduces Elizabeth in his play in a speech that imitates the opening lines of *A Midsummer's Night Dream*. The Empress of Rome is complaining of a woman who dishonors her and threatens her power, and upon being asked who it is replies:

The Fairy Queen.
Five summers have scarce drawn their glimmering nights
Through the moon's silver bow. . . .³

Compare:

Four nights will quickly dream away the time;
And then the moon, like to a silver bow
New-bent in heaven

[*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, 1. 9 ff.]

Why did Dekker remind his audience of Shakespeare's play if he had borrowed for his political allegory no more than the bare name?

Certainly an Elizabethan audience, including the Queen, would have been prepared by Spenser to find, in Oberon, Henry VIII. In that very fact does there not lie the clew to the introduction of the jealousy motive into the quarrel? To nip suspicion the moment it appeared by making clear the marital relationship of the Fairy King and Fairy Queen—what better way could have been found? So was it made safe for Elizabeth to hear of the abnormal weather of 1594-95⁴ as caused by the quarrel between the Fairy Queen and Oberon, which could be amended only by her submission to his will in the matter of the changeling boy. If she was moved to self-justification, lo, the play forestalled her. But she would none the less be reminded that she too had "crossed" Oberon's will in keeping her cousin's son from his birthright—as well as from the succession.⁵ And was

¹ Dekker, *op. cit.*, II, 202.

² Dekker, *op. cit.*, II, 195.

³ II, x, 75.

⁴ Cf. p. 65, below.

⁵ The word *changeling* (II, 1, 23, and 120) is not used, as it is commonly used, to mean the fairy child left in the cradle of the human child, but the human child deprived of his natural rights.

There may also be a clew in the word "henchman." In 1565, Elizabeth caused great astonishment at court by abolishing the office of the royal henchmen, or children of honor (cf. *N.E.D.*, with references given there) in close attendance upon the royal person. It is, to say the least, not impossible that these words may have been intended to suggest to the Queen a plea for birthright only—disassociated from the claim to the throne.

she immune to the suggestion that the weather which threatened to ruin the country might after all be due to Divine anger because she so obstinately crossed her father's will?¹ Very emphatic is Oberon's: "Do you amend it then; it lies in you" (l. 118). And indeed he was right if he impersonated Henry VIII!

4. *Summary of conclusions reached thus far.*—(1). There are approximately a hundred lines in II, i, 1–187 which bear every mark of being topical.

2). Oberon's vision fits the Elvetham pageant much more closely than the Kenilworth pageant and is motivated by the Earl of Hertford's situation; the "votaress" passage parallels the history of his first wife, Lady Katherine Grey, and not that of any of the Queen's other maids of honor.

3). Dekker's borrowing of the names "Oberon" and "Titania" in a political play and his introduction of Titania in language imitated from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* suggest that this also is political and that the quarrel of Oberon and Titania about the changeling boy reflects the refusal of Elizabeth to yield to Henry VIII's "will" by her long keeping from his legal rights of Hertford's heir.

4). The jealousy motif is introduced into the quarrel to obscure the real relationship of the fairies and the real ground of their dispute.

5). The abnormal weather of the time, which was causing alarm, is used as a veiled warning to the Queen that her obstinacy in the matter of the succession has angered the supernatural powers.

Out of these conclusions grows the hypothesis that *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 1–187 consists largely of political propaganda for Hertford's heir—if not openly for his claim to the throne, at least

¹ The attribution of stormy weather to the wrath of supernatural beings is too common to need illustration. The Elizabethan idea is represented by a preacher, Dr. King, who in a sermon preached at this time (though not published until later) says: . . . "the Lorde hath bowed the heavens, and come downe amongst us with more tokens and earnestes of his wrath intended then the agedst man of our lande is able to recount of so small a time" (Halliwell, *Memoranda on the Midsummer Night's Dream* [1879], p. 18). This language shows what a deep impression the year of bad weather made.

The Queen may have read Churchyard's *Charitie* (published in 1595), which expresses an idea similar to Shakespeare's in the couplet:

"Nature thinks scorne to do hir dutie right,
Because we have displeasde the Lord of Light"

Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream [1841], p. 9.

for his legitimization, which, as everyone knew, amounted to the same thing.¹

This hypothesis involves a strange sequel. When Oberon sees that the "fair vestal" is cold to the unbounded affection showered upon her at Elvetham, he sends Puck for the magic flower, Love-in-Idleness. The love that the "imperial votaress" has scorned is to be the means of her undoing; if she cannot love one who is worthy, she must dote upon one who is unworthy. And why? Because she does not yield to Oberon in the matter of the boy.² If Elizabeth had found herself in Titania, she would have had a lively interest in identifying Bottom, who was to become the object of her dotage. If there is allegory in the play at all, Bottom must be someone in whom two conditions are met: (1) a rank not derogatory to the Queen's dignity and (2) such thorough disfavor that the idea of her infatuation would be amusing. In view of this situation, Professor Manly made the startling suggestion: "Suppose Bottom is a caricature of King James?"

II. THE SATIRE ON KING JAMES

1. *The lion among ladies*.—Malone was first to point out an "odd coincidence" between the joke about the "lion among ladies" and a real occurrence at the christening of Prince Henry at Stirling, August 30, 1594.³ According to the original plan for a pageant,⁴ a tame lion (undoubtedly symbolic of the Scottish coat-of-arms)⁵ was to

¹ The text as we have it passed the censor in 1600. Much might have been said on the stage which would not have been allowed in print. Much might have been left obscure for the Queen's quick wits to discover or for those who sat by her to whisper in her ear (cf. *Hamlet*, III, ii, 242 ff.).

² Familiarity with the tortuous subtleties of the Elizabethan mind suggests that while Oberon is officially Henry VIII because it was with him that the Queen was at odds, there is possibly an admixture of Burghley in the character; he was at the Elvetham fête and he championed the Suffolk claim (see below).

³ Ed. 1821, pp. 245 ff., note. He adds: "There are probably many temporary [topical] allusions . . . scattered through our author's plays. . . ."

⁴ A pamphlet describing the christening was entered in the *Stationers' Register*, October 24, 1594, and a ballad, October 25 (II, 662, 663); a printed account is referred to in the *Cal. S. P. Scott.*, II, 659 (23) immediately after the event. There was also an edition in 1603 from which Nichols, *op. cit.*, III, and Scott, *Somers Tracts*, 1809, II, 171 ff., printed. My references are to the first edition of Nichols.

⁵ "A True Account of the most triumphant and royal Accomplishment of the Baptism of the most Excellent, Right High and Mighty Prince Henry Frederick," etc. (Nichols, *op. cit.*, III), pp. 19, 20.

draw in the ship of state¹; but upon consideration of possible fear among the spectators, the plan was abandoned. Compare with this situation the following passages in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

Bottom. Masters, you ought to consider with yourselves: to bring in— God shield us!—a lion among ladies, is a most dreadful thing . . . [III, i, 30 ff.].

Bottom. Let me play the lion too: I will roar, that I will do any man's heart good to hear me; I will roar, that I will make the duke say 'Let him roar again, let him roar again.'

Quince. An you should do it too terribly, you would fright the duchess and the ladies, that they would shriek . . . [I, ii, 72 ff.].

Lion. You, ladies, you, whose gentle hearts do fear
The smallest monstrous mouse that creeps on floor,
May now perchance both quake and tremble here,
When lion rough in wildest rage doth roar [V, i, 222 ff.].

This thrice-repeated joke is commonly taken as referring to the Stirling episode;² but two factors not before noted in this connection are the notorious timidity of James³ and his part in devising the pageant, which would have led to the belief that he was responsible (as he may have been) for the change of plan.⁴

2. *The drawn sword.*—But another speech by Bottom, immediately before one of the references to the "lion among ladies," points more unmistakably to James:

There are things in this comedy of Pyramus and Thisby that will never please. First, Pyramus must draw a sword to kill himself, which the ladies cannot abide [*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, i, 9 ff.].

There was an early and widespread tradition that James could not bear the sight of a drawn sword. This weakness was explained as due to the shock his mother had received, shortly before his birth,

¹ The prow of this ship was carved to represent a dolphin, and Arion sat on the dolphin's back (*ibid.*); cf. p. 56, n. 3, above.

² Scott, without referring to Malone's suggestion, said that the Stirling precaution about the lion would "remind the reader of the humane precaution of Bottom, on a similar occasion" (*Somers Tracts*, II, 179, n. 1).

³ This needs no proof. But cf. *Cal.S.P.Span.* (1587–1603), p. 604; *Cal.S.P.Ven.* (1603–7), p. 25; *Historical Works of Sir James Balfour* (1824), II, 114; Weldon, *Court and Character of King James* (1650), p. 178; Sully, *Mémoires* (1814), III, 218; and Osborne, "Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James the First," in Scott, *Secret History of the Court of James I* (1811), I, 152, 174, for contemporary evidence.

⁴ Cf. p. 70, n. 2, below.

from seeing Rizzio killed with swords.¹ Before 1622—how long before we cannot tell—James was ridiculed for this weakness. He was pictured in one place, wearing a scabbard without a sword; in another, with a sword which nobody could draw out, though several persons stood pulling at it.² In view of the facts that it was an age when every man wore a sword and also that James was commonly satirized for his effeminacy, it seems that "the ladies," thus repeatedly dragged in, might have been no other than "Queen Jamie" himself.³ In connection with this idea, Bottom's desire to play Thisbe should not be forgotten.

3. *The jokes about beards.*—There is still another gibe at effeminacy in the play. Note Bottom's concern about his false beard for the part of Pyramus, which leads to Quince's joke about "French crowns" that "have no hair at all," ending with, "and then you will play barefaced."⁴ What does this mean if not that Bottom has no beard of his own? In Shakespeare's time, every man who could wore a beard in token of manhood. But James's beard was a joke. Those who had seen him called it "werey thin" and "scattering."⁵ Does not this fact point the jest at once?

But there is another joke about beards, which startlingly suggests a rare physical peculiarity well known to have been true of James. Bottom says:

I must to the barber's, mounsieur, for methinks I am marvellous hairy about the face; and I am such a tender ass, if my hair do but tickle me, I must scratch [IV, i, 25 ff.].

¹ Harris, *Life of James I* (1814), pp. 1 ff., n. 1, gives as his authority Sir Kenelm Digby (essay on "The Power of Sympathy," at the end of his *Discourse on Bodies* [1669], p. 188, which I have been unable to verify), who states the fact from personal observation.

² *Phoenix Britannicus* (1732), I, 323 ("Sir Walter Rawleigh's Ghost"), and there said to be from a MS of 1622. Coke uses the same material in his *Detection of the Court and State of England* (1719), I, 126.

³ An old quatrain, which calls Elizabeth king, dubs James "la reine Jacqueline"; (*Phoenix Britannicus* I, 324.) Cf. also Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts* (1857), I, 80; also, Oldmixon, *History of England* (1730), II, 31, quoting Echard and Father Orleans.

⁴ I, ii, 99 f. The unpleasant sneer, with its allusion to social disease, may be a hit at James's early liking for the French, even at his favorite D'Aubigny (cf. *Cal. Scottish Papers*, VI [1547-1603], pp. 609 ff.); but the point need not be urged. It is, however, curious that this joke about the beards seems to have been suggested to Shakespeare by a passage in Barnaby Riche's *Farewell to the Military Profession*, of which a new edition printed in 1594 came to the eye of James and moved him to complaint (June 18, 1595) by its satire on Scotland (*Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 683).

⁵ Weldon, *loc. cit.*; Balfour, *op. cit.*, II, 108; Wilson, *History of James I* (1653), 289; Ellis, *op. cit.*, III [198].

Put beside this the following note by James's physician: "His skin was so thin and sensitive that it was always itching."¹ Bottom's beardless skin, too, is so sensitive that when he acquires even a donkey's beard, it tickles so that he must scratch. What is the point of the joke without the facts given above? But to an audience aware of James's weaknesses, would it not have been cruelly funny?

4. *James as Bottom the Weaver*.—If the coincidences discussed are not accidental, it should be possible to explain Shakespeare's choice of name and trade for his caricature.

James himself may have suggested satire of himself as a "mechanical" when he chose as the title of his first literary effort (1584) *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie*. If he called himself a "prentise," the trade for him was certainly the national craft of weaving, for which Scotland was even then famous.²

But why "Bottom"? rather than—for instance—"Shuttle"? Does it not with its meaning "ball of wool," suggest a special type of figure? Here is a description of James by one who continually saw him:

Hee was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his cloathes then in his body, yet fat enough, his cloathes ever being made large and easie, the Doublets quilted for steletto prooffe, his Breeches in plates [pleats], and full stuffed.³

Would not all this "stuffing" make a "bottom" of wool?

¹ "Cutis tenuis et delicata admodum, quæ prurit facillime" (Ellis, *op. cit.*, III [199], n. b). The notes were not, of course, published in James's lifetime; but other contemporaries suggest the characteristic. I quote the physician as authoritative.

² Hume Brown, in his *Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary* (1904), pp. 226 ff., gives a table of Scottish manufactured exports for 1614, from which it appears that of their total value, which was £169,097, woven goods made up £70,300, and spun and knitted goods, £44,087 more.

Loch in an official survey called *Essays on the Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland* (1778), I, 2, laments the decay of the weaving industry since the Union, and at the same time notes that there were looms in almost every village (for example, in Dunnikier, 195 to 1,500 people; in Paisley, 4,960 to 12,000 people, etc.).

Worth noting, perhaps is the traditional sanctimoniousness of Scotch weavers in connection with James's translations of the psalms, of which one was published and others could have been known about (cf. p. 79, n. 5, below). Shakespeare associated weavers with psalm singing (1 *Henry IV*, II, iv, 149); but unless James's psalmistry helped in fixing Bottom's trade, it does not appear in the play.

³ According to Halliwell (*Introduction to Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream*, p. 21) "Nick" was a traditional name for a weaver.

⁴ Weldon, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 f. Balfour (*loc. cit.*) describes the breeches as with "grate pleits." James's physician also testifies to his heavy body (cf. p. 71, n. 3, below).

Much as the court painters usually flattered James, the Van Somer portrait (in Algernon Cecil's *Life of Robert Cecil* [1915], p. 192) shows a globular trunk, the "grate pleits," thin legs, and scanty beard.

5. *Idiosyncrasies of James found in Bottom*.—If in Bottom the weaver we have a caricature of James, we should expect to find the striking coincidences already pointed out confirmed by a multitude of minor hits and hints which would have suggested to an audience familiar with the dramatist's purpose the person ridiculed. This, I contend, is exactly what we do find from the moment of Bottom's appearance on the stage.

In I, ii, although Quince is the stage manager and apparent author of the piece, it is Bottom who from the first moment to the last dominates and directs the rehearsal.¹ This immediately suggests itself as a reflection of James's activities in helping to get up the Stirling pageantry.²

One of the most laughter-moving qualities of Bottom on the stage is the solemn pomposity with which he utters his foolishness. Of James, Fontenay, the French ambassador, had noted in 1584, in a letter to Mary Stuart, that he was "extremely solemn in his way of speaking."³ The pomposity with which James laid down the law was matched only by the extreme familiarity that he allowed his intimates. Compare with the relations of "bully Bottom" to his men what James's contemporaries wrote of their king.⁴

James's conceit does not need proof; but it is amusingly illustrated in a letter from him to Guise, written in 1583, in which he refers to "my virtues and rare qualities, which you write that God has been pleased to grant me," together with Philip II's marginal comment, "He is quite ready to confess them himself."⁵ In 1584 Fontenay also wrote to Mary Stuart (and the letter was duly read and preserved by the Cecils) that her son had "a good opinion of himself."⁶

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, ii, Bottom expresses his conviction that he can play the part of lover or tyrant, that he can

¹ Cf. II, 2-3, 8-10, 15-17, 20-21, 110 ff.

² Cf. Nichols, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 11 and 20, and Westcott, *New Poems of James I of England* (1911), pp. lviii f. James's one venture in dramatic authorship was the unfinished masque written for the Marquis of Huntley's wedding in 1589; but it is not necessary to suppose that Shakespeare had anything but the Stirling affair in mind.

³ *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, III, 60: "Il . . . est fort grave en ses parolles."

⁴ Jesse, *op. cit.*, I, 40 ff., 43, and 57 f., 81 f.; Dalrymple, *Memorials and Letters . . . of James the First* (1766), pp. 163 ff.

⁵ *Cal.S.P.Span.* (1580-87), p. 502.

⁶ . . . "bonne opinion de soy mesmes" (*Cal. Salisbury MSS*, III, 60).

"play Eracles rarely," that he would be a success as Thisbe, and that he might as well play the lion too. Conceit?

But Quince decrees that he shall play Pyramus:

You can play no part but Pyramus; for Pyramus is a sweet-faced man; a proper man as one shall see in a summer's day; a most lovely, gentleman-like man; therefore, you must needs play Pyramus [ll. 87-91].

Compare what Fontenay also wrote to Mary Stuart of James's qualifications as a gentleman:

His manners, for lack of good instruction, are countrified and extremely rude, both in his speech, eating, dress, interests, and in his behavior in the presence of ladies. . . .¹

"Gentleman-like"?

But Bottom's "chief humour is for a tyrant." So was James's, long before he formulated the "Divine Right of Kings."²

James, too, could "play Eracles rarely" on the spindling legs which kept him from walking until his sixth year,³ and which gave him a characteristic rolling gait.⁴

Flute is unwilling to play Thisbe. He has "a beard coming." Bottom is eager for the part, though he admits that he must hide his face. Why, if he has no beard? Because it is ugly? He thinks that he can speak in a "monstrous little voice"; but he immediately shows that he cannot pronounce "Thisbe," saying instead "Thisne."

¹ "Ses facons, faulte d'avoir esté bien instruit, sont agrestes et fort inciviles, tant en son parler, manger, habitz, jeux, et entretien es compagnies de femmes" . . . [ibid.].

² Cf. Buchanan, *History of Scotland* (1856), III, 55; but interesting early assertions of James's ideas are in *Cal. S.P. Scoll.* (1583), I, 455.; Melville's *Diary* (1581), p. 119; *The Present State of Scotland* (1586), *Bannatyne Club*, vol. 104, p. 314.

³ So his physician: "Tibie a natura graciles minusque firmæ ad molem corporis sustinendam" (Ellis, *op. cit.*, III [198], n. b).

Oldmixon, referring to Henry IV's sneer at James as the Solomon of the age, adds: "taken in a literal sense, he might as well have call'd him the Hercules of the age" (*op. cit.*, II, 31).

The Stirling pamphlet tells that the tapestry on the prince's bed showed the labors of Hercules (Nichols, *op. cit.*, III, 14).

⁴ Is there not a joke in "wandering knight" (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, II, 47)? Cf. Falstaff's song, "Phœbus, he, 'that wandering knight so fair'" (*1 Henry IV*, I, II, 16 f.). Bottom has just been admiring a stanza about "Phibbus' car"; and "Phœbus" was a name given to James as commonly as "Phœbe" to Elizabeth (cf. p. 83, n. 6, below). It is curious that Fontenay should have used the very word "wandering" in describing James's gait: "He never stops in one place, taking a singular pleasure in walking about, but his gait is badly made up of erratic and wandering [italics mine] steps even in his own chamber" (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also Weldon and Balfour (*loc. cit.*) on James's weak legs and "circular" walk.

Suppose Bottom were rolling about the stage when the "wandering knight" was mentioned?

Why has he this defective enunciation? Fontenay tells us that James had a "thick" (*grosse*) voice,¹ and Weldon adds that his "tongue [was] too large for his mouth, which ever made him speake full in the mouth."² Whether or not the passage as it stands is corrupt, it certainly suggests defective enunciation; and James certainly had a defective enunciation.³

By the end of I, ii, the notorious peculiarities of James have been caricatured: his roly-poly figure and weak legs, his wandering gait, his beardlessness, his gruff voice, his defective speech, his ugliness, his bourgeoisie, his bad manners, his effeminacy, his love of tyranny, his love of meddling, his solemn pomposity, and his conceit; and also his interest in dramatic entertainments so recently evinced in the Stirling fêtes.⁴

6. *James playing Pyramus to Elizabeth*.—But after all it is the part of Pyramus that is assigned to Bottom. Why? The clew to an answer may lie in the following poem by James:⁵

When as the skillfull archer false
Inflam'd and pearc'd by craftie arte
Leander's hart and Heros als⁶
By his so firie golden darte
Fra Cupide blinde assailde
With bowe and shaft
His will they never failde
Such was his craft.

And ever from that tyme agoe
There⁶ love to others never past
Whill⁶ fortune was there mortall foe
And made them perishe both at last
The raging seas they war
Twixt them a barr
There cheefest toyle and caire
To swimme so farr.

¹ *Loc. cit.* Cf. also Bottom's idea of his ability to "roar" and his promise to "aggravate" his voice (I, ii, 83 ff.).

² *Loc. cit.*; also Balfour (*loc. cit.*); also the physician (*loc. cit.*); also *Notes and Queries* (4th series), III, 342.

³ Bottom also says "Shafalus" and "Procrus" (V, i, 200) and "Limander" (V, i, 198). Of these mispronunciations, "Shafalus," at least, suggests James's difficulty.

⁴ Of Bottom's pedantry I make no argument, as Shakespeare makes other comic characters misuse long words in the same way.

⁵ *New Poems of James I of England*, edited by Allan F. Westcott (1911), p. 24. The title written in the hand of Prince Charles is merely "Song 2." Hence, like the poem preceding it, which is labeled "Song 1," it was left without a title by its author.

⁶ Also, Their, Until.

Bot liker is my fortune raire
 Since seas divydes us not at all
 To Piramus and Thisbe faire
 Devyded onlie by a wall
 Which in it had a bore¹
 Werethrough they spake
 Which of a chance before¹
 Dame fortune brake.

The verrie like did us befall
 As them of whome I shewe before
 We distant are by such a wall
 And often spacke by such a bore
 Whill envie called¹ a naile
 There through so strate¹
 As made our moyen¹ faile
 To speake of late.

This poem is assumed by its editor to have been addressed to Anne of Denmark;² but internal evidence is strongly against this assumption. It says that the writer's relations to the woman he is addressing are not those of Leander to Hero but of Pyramus to Thisbe; that seas do not divide them but only a wall; and that they had often spoken through a hole in this wall, which lately envy has stopped so that they cannot speak now. If James had been addressing his wife, he would certainly *not* have said their love was unlike that of Leander and Hero, for two good reasons: (1) seas had divided them, and (2) his mad flight across the sea to marry her was actually at the time compared to Leander's swimming the Hellespont:

The King's impatience for his love and lady hath so transported him in mind and body, that he is about to commit himself, *Leander like*, to the waves of the ocean.³

This quotation is from a letter written by an English agent in Scotland to Elizabeth, and the popularity of the Leander story must have suggested the parallel to others. But if the seas that divided James from Anne of Denmark made him a Leander to her, why could not the great Roman wall built by Hadrian, which still divides Scot-

¹ Hole, long ago, drove, tight, means.

² Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 83 f.

³ *Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 568. Italics mine. Cf. also *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV, ii, 4 and V, i, 198.

land from England,¹ have made him a Pyramus to Elizabeth? And allegorically, of course, it would have symbolized the mutual distrust and hostility between the countries,² in which diplomacy had kept a "bore" open for speaking through, continually stopped up during the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign by "envy."³

That James hoped to marry Elizabeth as late as August 14, 1586, appears from a letter marked *private*, sent to his ambassador in England together with a letter discussing a league between the two countries. The private communication reads in part:

It is true that of ourself we were never minded to make marriage suddenly, unless it might produce surety to her Majesty's state and apparent benefit to the whole realm. Which we think might best have been performed, if it might have liked her Majesty of the completing of that marriage with herself whereunto we could never find her inclined. . . .

If you shall find her persist in her former opinion, then we think it shall be in vain that you should let her understand how far we were brought to like of that marriage; but, as ever you shall find her inclined, spare not this far to let her be informed of, that the remembrance of that marriage had not only removed the thought of any other from out of our mind but also had imprinted an imagination of herself in our inward thought which we studied not to remove, but rather did suffer it to increase under hope that some day her Majesty might be moved to hear speaking of the profitable effects of marriage.

He adds that if the Queen gives ear at all, he will at once send a nobleman of quality to deal with Douglas in the matter.⁴

A natural accompaniment of a courtship—even a political courtship—in those days was poetry. So it is not surprising to find James adding to an official letter dated August 13, 1585, in which he promises to settle some cause of misunderstanding,⁵ a personal letter

¹ Repair of which was under consideration in 1587 (cf. *Cal. Border Papers*, I, 300 ff.).

² Daniel had the same idea when in a poem to James in 1603 he wrote:

"No wall of Adrian serves to separate
Our mutual love, nor our obedience"

[Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, I, 121].

³ That is, the envy of councillors who were moved by personal ambitions rather than by the interests of their monarchs. This idea is strongly voiced by James in a letter to Essex, written April 13, 1594 (*Letters and State Papers of James VI* (1838), pp. 7 f.). Cf. also *Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 648, 668 ff.

⁴ *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, XIII, p. 300. Cf. *Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II., 964.

⁵ He says, . . . "to sift out the trial of this last mishap with all possible speed" (*Cal. Salisbury MSS*, XIII, 282 f.).

of affection, alluding to two of his own poems sent to her. This letter (modernized in spelling) reads:

Notwithstanding of my instant writing one letter unto you yet could I not satisfy my unrestful and longing spirit except by writing of these few lines, which, albeit they do not satisfy it, yet they do stay the unrest thereof until the answers returning of this present. Madame, I did send you before some verse; since then Dame Cynthia has oft renewed her horns and innumerable times supped with her sister Thetis, and the bearer thereof returned and yet void of answer. I doubt not you have read how Cupid's dart is fiery called because of the sudden ensnaring and restless burning, thereafter what can I else judge but that either you had not received it, except the bearer returned with the contrary report; or else that you judge it not to be of me because it is *incerto auctore*. For which cause, I have inserted my name to the end of this sonnet here enclosed. Yet one way am I glad of the answer's keeping up because I hope now for one more full after the reading also of these presents and hearing this bearer dilate this purpose more at large according to my secret thoughts. For you know dead letters cannot answer no questions, therefore I must pray you how unapparent soever the purpose be to trust him in it as well as if I myself spake it unto you face to face (which I would wish I might) since it is specially and in a manner only for that purpose that I have sent him. Thus, not doubting of your courtesy in this far, I commit you to God's holy protection the day and date as in the other letter, your more loving and affectionate brother and cousin than (I fear) yet you believe, James R.¹

The "Sonnet" referred to has been preserved among the Salisbury manuscripts and is here printed for the first time:²

SONNET

full many ane tyme the archier slakkis his bou
that afterhend it may the stronger be
full many ane time in uulkane burning slou
the smith dois uattir cast with cairfull ee
full oft contentionis great arise ue see
betuixt the husband & his louing wife
that sine thay may the fermlyer agree
quhen endit is that suddain colere strife
yea brethren louing uther as thaire lyfe
will haue debatis at certane tymes & houris
the uingid boy dissentionnis hote & rife
tuixt his³ lettis fall lyke suddaine simmer schouris
even so this couldnes did betuixt us fall
to kindle oure loue as suire i hope it sall
finis J R

¹ *Ibid.*

² I owe my copy to the kindness of Wilfred Stanhope-Lovell, Esq., librarian of the Earl of Salisbury at Hatfield House.

³ Meaning "those in his power."

Of the lost poem the letter tells that it touched upon Cupid's fiery dart and its effects. We may infer that it was not a sonnet, or the pedantic king, who had just published in his critical treatise a summary of verse forms, would have called it so. The Pyramus poem begins with an allusion to Cupid's fiery dart;¹ it is the only one of James's extant poems, not a sonnet, which the letter might have referred to; the parallel it develops exactly fits the political relations of James and Elizabeth; and finally, it is motivated in precisely the same way as the Sonnet—as an effort to overcome by protestations of ardent devotion a misunderstanding or coldness on the part of the woman addressed. On these grounds, the presumption in favor of its being the lost poem is very strong.²

In view of this, consider Flute's allusion to Bottom's pension:

O sweet bully Bottom! Thus hath he lost sixpence a day during his life; he could not have 'scaped sixpence a day: an the duke had not given him sixpence a day for playing Pyramus, I'll be hanged; he would have deserved it: sixpence a day in Pyramus, or nothing [IV, ii, 19 ff.].

Year after year, Elizabeth grudgingly paid and James grumbly accepted a pension, which was thoroughly understood to be the price of his friendship. Note the contempt in Burghley's cynical comment on the mercenary motives that bound him to England and Protestantism:

If he [the envoy] can get for the Kyng a *piece of money*, I thynk it will gage hym that waye from harkening to papisticall confederacy.³

Compare with this, which, significantly for my argument, was written on February 17, 1595, James's unblushing demand in 1596 for £4,000 as a "proportionable recompense for his affection towards her Majesty,"⁴ and the Master of Gray's comment, December 14, 1588, that the sums Elizabeth paid were "only a fiddler's wages."⁵ Does not all this look like "playing Pyramus for sixpence"?⁶

¹ If the two poems are read together, the sequel-like effect of the second is marked. It picks up the idea and the image of the first (the archer), develops a different phase of it, and ends with a much more emphatic statement of the misunderstanding.

² James's letter would have revived memory of the unsigned poem and furnished the basis for a joke about his playing Pyramus to Elizabeth's Thisbe.

³ Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 442. Italics mine.

⁴ *Cal. S. P. Scotl.*, II, 721. Cf. also, pp. 717, 723, etc., and *Hamilton Papers*, II, 644.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Scotl.*, I, 551.

⁶ The old explanation of the passage was that the joke was on Thomas Preston, who had played before the Queen at Cambridge in 1564 and had received a pension of £20 a

7. *The ass's head*.—If Bottom playing Pyramus is James pretending affection to Elizabeth, it is notable that the moment he begins to rehearse for the part, Puck puts an ass's head on him. What in James's life suggested this? It is true that James himself in 1589 justified his "Leander-like" wooing by his fear that he might be "unjustlie sklanderit as ane irresolute asse,"¹ and that the very behavior by which he hoped to avoid being an ass made him one in the eyes of his enemies. It is also true that his undignified meddling with the trials of witches in 1591, duly and promptly known in England by means of a pamphlet,² and his openly expressed belief in witchcraft would easily have suggested that he might be "translated" and "transported" in the play.³ Although these facts⁴ are perhaps enough to warrant the device of witchcraft in the play, the use of the specific device of the ass's head is probably borrowed from Lyly's *Midas*, played in 1591 and published in 1592. Now *Midas* is a political play representing the struggle between Catholicism (Pan) and Protestantism (Apollo). King Midas (Philip of Spain) chooses Pan and has ass's ears set on his head as punishment. He is also threatened that if he stretches out his hand against Lesbos (England), they will grow still longer.⁵ Similarly, Bottom has, not ass's ears, but an ass's head put upon him for "swaggering" so near the "cradle" of the "fairy queen." In view of the influence, pointed

year. But what had Shakespeare against the respectable master of Trinity College, Cambridge? Moreover, he did not play Pyramus; he played Dido. Further, it was not only his acting but his part in a disputation and his Latin oration before the Queen, which made her regard him as a scholar of such promise that she endowed him (Nichols, *Elizabeth*, III, "The Queen's Progress, 1564," pp. 71, 131). But what should have reminded an audience thirty years later of these long-buried and inapposite facts has not been shown.

¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, IV, 429.

² Called "Newes from Scotland . . . of Doctor Fian" (Roxburghe Club, 1816), published in 1591. It gives a full report of the occurrence. This pamphlet is believed to have suggested to Shakespeare material about witches for his *Macbeth*. Cf. also *Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 592.

³ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, i, 121 ff. and IV, ii, 3 f. Witches were "translated" into animals (cf. the pamphlet referred to above), and "transported" in space; so was Bottom.

The *Scottish State Papers* from 1590 on are thickly strewn with allusions to the trials of witches (cf. *Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 578, 580, 585, 587, 588, 589, 590, 592, 593, 603, 681, 684, 687, 697, etc.), in many of which the King was concerned. Cf. the English ambassador's statement in 1597 that the King was "much pestered with witches, who swarm in thousands" (*ibid.*, p. 740).

⁴ And Shakespeare had also been reading Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, published in 1584 (cf. especially pp. 32 and 122, ed. Nicholson, 1886.).

⁵ *Midas*, IV, i; V, iii, 24 ff. (ed. Bond, III, 139 ff., 158).

out by Mr. Bond,¹ of Lyly's *Midas* upon *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and of the influence of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* upon Dekker's political allegory (*The Whore of Babylon*) on the same subject as *Midas*, does not the political significance of the ass's head seem highly probable? But the evidence is not all in.

8. *The cuckoo*.—The first thing Bottom does after his transformation is to sing and to comment on the second stanza of his song as follows:

The finch, the sparrow, and the lark,
The plain-song cuckoo gray,
Whose note full many a man doth mark,
And dares not answer, nay;

for indeed, who would set his wit to so foolish a bird? who would give a bird the lie, though he cry "cuckoo" never so [III, i, 133-39]?

This is not merely the stale Elizabethan joke about the cuckoo. Bottom goes out of his way to explain that he does *not* believe in the cuckoo's warning about unfaithful wives. This is the only hint in the play that Bottom was a husband. And why is it introduced? What does it matter whether or not Bottom believed the cuckoo? There was undoubted concern at the English courts about the attitude of James on this problem, evinced at the christening of which other echoes have been found in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. On July 26, John Colville, an English agent, wrote from Stirling to Cecil:

It is certane that the King hes consaved a greit jelosie of the Quene, which burnis the moir the moir he coveris it. The Duik² is the principall suspected. . . . The Quene is forvarned; but with the lyik cunning will not excus til she be accused. *Hec sunt incendia malorum*; and the end can be no less tragical nor wes betuix his parents.³

Under date of July 30, Colville wrote again:

The King repentis him soir that he hes maid suche convocation to this Baptisme; for, upon the jelosie mentionat in my last, he beginnis to dout of the child: I think he had not been baptised at this tyme if so many Princes had not bein invyted. That matter takkis deip root on boyth sydis.⁴

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 256 ff., 297, and III, 109 f. and 112.

² Ludovick, Duke of Lennox.

³ *Letters of John Colville* (Bannatyne Club), p. 109. Cf. *Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 656, 657.

⁴ Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

But after all this tragedy, what happened? Nothing! The King accepted openly the paternity of the child. "Who would give a bird the lie, though he cry 'cuckoo' never so?"

9. *Hits at the Scotch*.—Very suggestive is Puck's first comment on Bottom's men:

What hempen homespuns have we swaggering here,
So near the cradle of the fairy queen [III, i, 79–80]?

To an English court audience in imported velvets and brocades, if "homespuns" alone did not suggest the Scotch,¹ "hempen" must have done so. A traveler in Scotland in 1689 emphasizes the "mighty burdens" of hemp grown there and used "for making their linen."² As linen cloth and thread together made a total of £44,881 in the export list of 1614,³ the taunt about the coarseness of the homespun linen would have been understood in Shakespeare's time. It is one more sneer at the poverty of the Scotch and their pensioned king.

And as for "swaggering," used by an Englishman to satirize the Scots—does it need comment?⁴

Again, Puck's account of the rustics is not genial but surprisingly bitter. They are a "crew of patches, rude mechanicals" and Bottom is the "shallowest thickskin of that barren sort"⁵ (and cf. Oberon's "hateful fool," p. 81, below).

¹ Cf. p. 69, n. 2, above.

² Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (1891), p. 287.

³ Cf. p. 69, n. 2, above.

⁴ On seventeenth-century English ideas of Scottish pride, cf. "A Modern Account of Scotland," 1670 (*Harl. Misc.*, VII), p. 442.

⁵ III, II, 9, 13. There are numerous sixteenth-century allusions to the "rude and uncivil" condition of Scotland, the "needy and beggarly people" (cf., for example, *Cal. Border Papers*, II, 103; *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, 1596–97, p. 232). Cf. also the seventeenth-century "Bæotum terra" (*Harl. Misc.*, X, 514) and "proverbially clownish" (*ibid.*, p. 510).

In a sermon preached before the Queen, on Palm Sunday, 1595, the clergyman had intended to allude to "Scotos qui villissimi reputantur," but prudently substituted *alios* for *Scotos* (*Cal. Border Papers*, II, 47).

It may be a mere coincidence that the word "barren" was an early epithet of Scotland (cf. Goodman, *The Court of King James the First* [1839], I, 20 and *Harl. Misc.*, VII, 437).

It is possible that in the trades chosen for Bottom's men, as well as for himself as weaver, there were specific hits at James's poets. It is, of course, true that the trades chosen were chiefly such as were held in contempt, and also that they might easily be given an allegorical twist to refer to poets (those who patch, join, and hack out verses) and musicians (those who rattle tinware or mend the bellows of organs); but although among James's circle of court poets, Montgomerie was to some extent a plagiarist (cf. Stevenson, *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, Supplementary Volume [Sc. Text Soc.], Appendix C, pp. 290 ff. and 358) and Thomas Hudson was Master of the Chapel Royal

10. *Bottom at the court of the Fairy Queen*.—In III, i, 132 to the end and IV, i, 1–75 we have scenes showing the humors of the bumpkin at court. In both there are many details which I shall not use for argument because although they would certainly have swelled the laughter if Bottom were known to be James, they might have been introduced without allegorical intent.¹ Certain others, however, contribute to the cumulative evidence. Who but a Scotch Bottom would have sent a fairy to a “thistle” for honey?² The thistle was satirized before 1617 as the fairest flower in Scotland.³ Why should Bottom break out into French and Italian in addressing the fairies?⁴ Is it because James prided himself on his knowledge of these languages? Bottom’s delight in the tongs and bones (IV, i, 31–32) might be purely rustic; but we know from the *Basilikon Doron* that James discouraged his son from becoming “a player upon instruments,”⁵ and also that in the seventeenth century Scottish music was described as “loud and harsh discord” and as “loud terrene noises, like the bellowing of beasts.”⁶ Again, Bottom’s taste for oats at once suggests the Scotch taste for the same, early observed by travellers and joked about before 1617.⁷

(Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. xxxix), hence concerned with bellows-mending, it is not possible at present to present hypotheses as to identifications.

Two important facts, however, should be noted. The first is that most of James’s poets were either English or familiar figures in London. On Montgomerie, cf. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 292; on Fowler, who was the chief deviser of the Stirling pageantry, cf. Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. xl f.; on James Hudson, a political agent, cf. the indexes to the *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, XIII and *Cal. S.P. Scott.*, II. The Hudsons, Henry Constable, Thomas Churchyard, and Henry Lok (or Locke) were all Englishmen and familiar figures at the court of James as well as in London.

The second fact is that Thomas Hudson and Henry Lok were satirized in *The Return from Parnassus*, in 1602.

Therefore it does not strain credulity to hold that Bottom’s men may also be caricatures of particular persons.

¹ For instance, when Bottom sings, Titania thinks she hears an angel (III, i, 132); cf. the allusions to Bottom’s voice in I, ii. Again there is Titania’s ironic praise of Bottom’s appearance, virtue, and wisdom (III, i, 140–51), which would have delighted the enemies of James.

² IV, i, 12. The thistle had become the national flower of Scotland by 1540 (Fox-Davies, *Complete Guide to Heraldry*, p. 271).

³ *Abbotsford Club Miscellany* (1837), I, 298; and cf. *Harl. Misc.*, VII, 436.

⁴ There are eleven “mounseurs,” besides “signior” and “Cavalery” in twenty lines (IV, i, 8–27). Cf. the sneer at French crowns (I, ii, 99 f.).

⁵ Ed. 1616, III, 187.

⁶ *Harl. Misc.*, VII, 437, 444. Bagpipes were not then peculiarly Scotch; Shakespeare mentions them as of Lincolnshire (1 *Henry IV*, I, ii, 85–86).

⁷ Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (1891), pp. 9, 89, 98, 157, 186, etc. Cf. *Abbotsford Miscellany*, I, 298 f.

But more significant than any of these is Oberon's description of the coronation of Bottom by Titania:

Obe [advancing]. Welcome, good Robin. See'st thou this sweet sight?
 Her dotage now I do begin to pity:
 For, meeting her of late behind the wood,
 Seeking sweet favours for this hateful fool,
 I did upbraid her and fall out with her;
 For she his hairy temples then had rounded
 With coronet of fresh and fragrant flowers;
 And that same dew, which sometime on the buds
 Was wont to swell like round and orient pearls,
 Stood now within the pretty flowerets' eyes
 Like tears that did their own disgrace bewail
 [IV, i, 51-61].

The very flowers weep at their disgrace upon being made into a "coronet" for this "hateful fool"! This is not the genial humor that is commonly attributed to Shakespeare's conception of Bottom; it is contemptuous satire, not warranted by the dramatic situation.

11. *Bottom's dream.*—Bottom's first words, upon entering the stage in the ass head are:

If I were—fair Thisby—I were only thine.¹

When he is disenchanted, he remembers that he has dreamed of the fulfilment of this wish. His comments on it end in a crux for which no satisfactory explanation has ever been given. They read:

Bot. [awaking]. When my cue comes, call me, and I will answer: my next is, "Most fair Pyramus." Heigh-ho! Peter Quince! Flute, the bellows-mender! Snout, the tinker! Starveling! God's my life, stolen hence, and left me asleep! I have had a most rare vision. I have had a dream, past the wit of man to say what dream it was: man is but an ass, if he go about to expound this dream. Methought I was—there is no man can tell what. Methought I was,—and methought I had,—but man is but a patched fool, if he will offer to say what methought I had. The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was. I will get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream: it shall be called Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom; and I will sing it in the latter

¹ III, 1, 106. I have changed the punctuation as given in the Globe, to bring out what seems to me the obvious meaning: "If I were only thine—fair Thisby," the *I were* being repeated for emphasis.

end of a play, before the Duke: peradventure, to make it the more gracious, I shall sing it at her death [*Exit*]. [IV, i, 205-21.]

That Bottom's dream of being crowned by the Fairy Queen should have no bottom (foundation) fits the allegory well; also, that it should be made into a ballad (because ballads were made of the most extravagant impossibilities). But why a play, not *the* play? and why at *her* death when the antecedent—grammatically, at least—is *Duke*? If *a* shows that the reference is not to "Pyramus and Thisbe" but to any play, if *Duke* stands for Elizabeth, if *her* refers to Duke, then it is easy to see why the singing of the ballad should be postponed until after *her* death: the lines are a veiled allusion to her lifelong objection to any hint about the succession. And this too was associated with the Stirling affair. On that occasion, Andrew Melville had presented a poem on the event entitled "*Principis Scoto-Britannorum Natalia*," by which Elizabeth was so offended that both James and the printer had to apologize.¹ The only possible source of offense lay in the assumption, also suggested by the title, that Prince Henry would one day rule both kingdoms.²

Thus Bottom at court, Bottom crowned by the fairy queen, and Bottom dreaming a dream without a "bottom"—all bear out the numerous hints of caricature of James in person.

12. *Bottom as critic*.—Why should Bottom be a critic? He praises the play that is to be given (I, ii, 14 f.); he gives his theory of acting and quotes a stanza of verse which he regards as "lofty" (27 ff.); he argues with Quince about the best metrical form for the Prologue (III, i, 26 f.). It is, of course, possible that he is speaking merely as an amateur actor. On the other hand, not only did James publish a critical treatise which Shakespeare almost certainly saw,³ but among the views he emphasized are those most strikingly ridiculed in the interlude. For instance, James is a strong advocate of allitera-

¹ *Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 660.

² The poem is published in Arthur Johnston's *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1637), II, 98 ff. For an account of it, cf. McCrie's *Life of Andrew Melville* (1819), II, 51.

³ *Ane Schort Treatise, Containing Some Reulis and Cautelis . . . published with the Essayes of A Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie*, 1584, reprinted by Arber (1585 ed.). It was published by Vautroullier, father-in-law of Richard Field, Shakespeare's fellow-townsmen, in whose shop he is supposed to have obtained his books.

tion.¹ Shakespeare has nearly a dozen passages in which this device is used with violent exaggeration, thus:

Whereat, with blade, with bloody blameful blade,
He bravely broach'd his boiling bloody breast [V, i, 147-48].²

But alliteration, although old-fashioned in 1595, was still a common device. Not so was what James calls the figure of "Repetition." In one of his short sections he discusses this and concludes that "when it comes to purpose, it will be comely to repeat such a word eight or nine times in a verse."³ This at once suggests itself as the source of Shakespeare's:

Now die, die, die, die, die.⁴

The absurdities of the interlude have always been regarded as satirizing the English poetry written in the sixties and seventies by Gascoigne, Golding, and others. But why satirize a literary fashion so long out of date? The problem takes on a different aspect when it is remembered that James and his poets, about twenty years behind the times, were still writing the artificial poetry of the earlier English school.⁵ So in James's expressed taste in poetry, we have still another angle of attack.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

² And cf. especially also ll. 147-50, 181-82, 279-92, 299-311, and 332-53, in the same scene.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴ V, i, 311. Cf. also the alliteration and repetition in ll. 277-310 and 332-55; also ll. 171-82, with the frequent repetition of "night," "wall," and other words:

"O grim-look'd night! O night with hue so black!
O night, which ever art when day is not!
O night! O night! alack, alack, alack!" etc.

⁵ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. xlviil.

⁶ Although this hypothesis explains many striking features of the interlude, there are others that it does not account for. Why, for instance, Shakespeare, who was seriously practicing the sonnet form at this time, should construct the interlude almost entirely out of this and split fourteeners remains a mystery. Further, the humor in "lily lips," "cherry nose," etc. (V, i, 337 ff.) seems to me to require something more than James's plea for originality (*loc. cit.*) for its source, and the use made of the Fates and Furies (ll. 289-92 and 343-48) need not be accounted for by James's predilection for such personages (his poem, "The Furies," was published in 1591); other poets of the time shared this taste. It is, of course, possible that the unexplained peculiarities marked some lost poem or poems by the original of "Quince," who seems to be the author of the interlude.

Then Bottom's stanza (I, ii, 33-40) remains a mystery. It is almost certainly not ridicule of Studley's "Hercules Oetæus," published in 1581 (as Halliwell suggested). The only verbal resemblances are in "roaring [not raging] rocks" and "Phœbus [not Phib-bus] carre," which occur in widely separated passages (Spenser Soc. ed., II, 188a and 195b). Moreover, the play is in fourteeners.

But what is the stanza form? The lines are printed as prose in the early editions, and the arrangement in eight lines is determined only by the rhymes. I have not yet

13. *James as the lion*.—The thrice-repeated joke about the live lion among ladies is not the only echo of the Stirling lion in the play. Shakespeare's audience, granted Bottom a caricature of James, would not have been slow to find additional jokes about the Scottish lion. It was the fashion then to refer to a man by his coat-of-arms;¹ and Shakespeare at least once in the play seems to point definitely to the old Scottish lion. This was rampant and showed ten prominent claws on its raised forepaws.² Compare Bottom's: . . . "and let not him that plays the lion pare his nails, for they shall hang out for the lion's claws" (IV, ii, 40-42). The expression "hang out" shows that Bottom was not thinking of the stage lion tearing Thisbe's veil but of the heraldic lion rampant.

The heraldic lion was used in two ways at Stirling. In the sports James's device was a lion's head, borne by his page and having the motto: "Timeat et primus et ultimus orbis."³ This was no bad example of his ability to roar. At the baptism proper, Lion King of Arms is, of course, most prominent of the heralds, and it is he who gives out the young prince's name, calls for God's blessing upon him, and proclaims him to the people.⁴ These facts are quite enough

chanced upon this meter anywhere. The nearest approach to it I have found is in two poems in eight-line stanzas with the same rhyme-scheme, one by Montgomerie, and the other by the Scotch hymn writers, the Wedderburns (cf. Cranstoun, *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie* [Sc. Text Soc.], pp. 193 f. and 371 ff.). But it is by no means certain that the rhythm is the same, though in some lines it seems to be.

The only idea discoverable in the stanza is that Phibbus' car may or may not, in the course of a great upheaval, overcome the Fates. Phœbus was, of course, continually used for James (cf. Constable's *Diana* [1897], p. 44; the sonnets prefixed to the *Essays*; Montgomerie's *Poems* [ed., Stevenson], pp. 94 ff.; Nichols, *op. cit.*, III, "Oxford Verses," pp. 6, 37, etc.; *Bannatyne Miscellany* [1827], I, 305, 307; Watson, *Collection of Scots Poems* [1711], III, 44). In Melville's poem (cf. p. 82, above), James's government is compared with Phœbus' control of his "celeris quadrigas" (Arthur Johnston, *op. cit.*, II, 74, and cf. p. 117 f.).

I mention these facts in the hope that further research will add to and interpret them.

¹ Nashe in his *Strange News* (1592) says: "Now a man may not talk of a dog, but it is surmised that he aims at him that giveth the dog in his crest [Shrewsbury]; he cannot name straw, but he must pluck a wheat-sheaf [Burghley] in pieces" (*Works* [ed., McKerrow], I, 260 f.).

² Cf. Bosseville, *Works of Armorie* (1597), p. 41b, based on Legh (first published in 1562).

³ Nichols, *op. cit.*, III, 11. On the use of lion as a designation of the kings of Scotland, cf. "The Whole Prophesie of Scotland," 1603 (Bannatyne Club, Vol. XLIV). Cf. also Hall's poem addressing James: "Ad Leonem Anglo-Scoticum" (Roxburghe Club, Vol. CX, C 3). In 1594 the agent Colville addresses him figuratively as the lion (*Cal. Salisbury MSS*, IV, 631).

⁴ Nichols, *op. cit.*, III, 14, 15, 16.

to explain the use of the lion in the satire. Snug, then (playing the part of James's page or of Lion King of Arms, as representative of royalty), is introduced into the Interlude and commented upon as follows:

Lion. You, ladies, you, whose gentle hearts do fear

The smallest monstrous mouse that creeps on floor,

May now perchance both quake and tremble here,

When lion rough in wildest rage doth roar.

Then know that I, one Snug the joiner, am

A lion-fell, nor else no lion's dam:

For if I should as lion come in strife

Into this place, 'twere pity on my life.

The. A very gentle beast and of a good conscience.

Dem. The very best at a beast, my lord, that e'er I saw.

Lys. This lion is a very fox for his valour.

The. True; and a goose for his discretion.

Dem. Not so, my lord; for his valour cannot carry his discretion; and the fox carries the goose.

The. His discretion, I am sure, cannot carry his valour; for the goose carries not the fox [V, i, 222-40].

In the play the Lion roars (l. 270), shakes Thisbe's mantle, and *exits* (after l. 273). The point of the introductory matter, then, seems to be that this timid, conscientious, boorish, indiscreet Lion—who is not a lion—need cause no fear even to ladies who fear a mouse. But this is not all. In ll. 226-27 there is a crux. The general meaning is that Snug is a lion only by virtue of the fell (skin) that he wears; but why should he say he is no "lion's dam" (mother)? Two explanations suggest themselves. One is that he says "dam," meaning "whelp." Snug, however, is not given to malapropisms. The other is that there has been excision of a satirical allusion to the Lion's mother. In favor of this is the fact that the prologue describing the characters (ll. 128-52) consists of a sonnet with one extra line and two quatrains and a couplet of another.¹ In 1600 no sneer at James's illegitimacy could have passed the censor. Yet there was a widely bruited report that he was Rizzio's son;² and he,

¹ Thus: abab cdcd efef x gg hihj jkjk ll. The solitary line reads: "This grisly beast, which Lion hight by name"—which readily suggests rhymes. If we may suppose three lines omitted, the passage made two complete sonnets.

² Cf. Andrew Lang, *History of Scotland*, II, 307; Jesse, *op. cit.*, II, 66; *Somers Tracts*, I, 519, n. 1; Osborne, *op. cit.*, I, 231; and Oldmixon, *op. cit.*, II, 10.

in turn, as has been shown, had listened to, though he affected to disregard, the cuckoo about his own marriage.¹ If the cuckoo lines refer to Prince Henry, it seems natural to suppose that the present allusion is to James himself,² the immediate claimant to the English throne. At least, the historic situation gives good reason for supposing that dangerous matter may have been removed from the text.³

The satire on the Lion, then, continues to bear out the idea that James was Shakespeare's butt.⁴

Summary of conclusions as to the satire on James.—Under a baker's dozen of heads, then, we find jokes that can be explained by the facts about James. These may be summed up as follows:

1). Continual hits at James's idiosyncrasies in the person of Bottom the weaver.

2). Satire of his early pretensions to the hand of Elizabeth and of his claim to the English throne in Bottom playing Pyramus and dreaming in his ass's head that the Fairy Queen had crowned him.

3). Ridicule of James as a critic in Bottom's criticisms and in the style of the interlude.

4). Satire on the Scottish Lion.

Most of the facts about James, Shakespeare could have learned from the printed matter referred to and from common gossip; but

¹ Cf. p. 78, above.

² According to Lang (*loc. cit.*), there is a note among the Master of Gray's papers that Rizzio himself confessed to one of Hunsdon's servants. If so, it was an old story in England by 1595, and one that Shakespeare could easily have heard.

³ The passage about the "lion-fell" is not so phrased as to suggest that Shakespeare had Aesop's fable in mind. That would have been appropriate if Bottom in person had played the Lion. But I wonder whether the idea of an unroyal person masquerading as lion was suggested by Spenser's *Prosopopoia* (1591), which is certainly political satire based upon a similar idea.

⁴ It is tempting to see the satire continued in the sneers at the Man in the Moon (V, i, 243 ff.), which immediately follows. Mr. Bond sees in the episode the influence of Lyly's *Woman in the Moone* (*op. cit.*, III, 232 f.), commonly supposed but not proved to be a satire on Elizabeth herself (*ibid.*, II, 256, n. 1). But Lyly's *Endimion* concerns the love of some Man in the Moon for Elizabeth. If M. Feullerat is right in identifying Endimion as James, instead of Leicester (*John Lyly* [1910], pp. 141 ff. and 488), there is an increased likelihood that Shakespeare's Man in the Moon is a travesty of Lyly's. At all events the sneers are suggestive of the points made against James. The moon is not "crescent" (as was Cynthia at Elvetham), though he was "horned" (cf. Bottom and the cuckoo, p. 78, above); Hippolyta (an epithet of Elizabeth, given by Ascham) is "weary" of him and "would he would change" (so Elizabeth of James, in the *State Papers*); he has "small light of discretion"; he is no moon at all but only a candle "in snuff"; he is "on the wane." These are not bad points for an adherent of the Suffolk claim.

it should be observed that both his dramatic patron, Lord Hunsdon, and his son, George Carey (who became Shakespeare's patron in 1596), had been often in Scotland and knew James better than most Englishmen of the time; also, that the elder Hunsdon had a violent dislike of the Scotch and a strong distrust of James¹; and finally, that George Carey was an eye-witness of the Elvetham water fête.² The only additional information that he might have needed from the secret bags of the Cecils³ was (1) a hint for the cuckoo innuendo, (2) the Pyramus poem, and (3) instructions that the political situation warranted the attempt. What was the situation?

EDITH RICKERT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ See *Dic. Nat. Biog.* under "Henry Carey" and "George Carey."

² See below.

³ Fontenay's letter, though a convenient summary, gives nothing that was not known by report. And Hunsdon could easily have known all this.

[*To be continued*]

DID THOMAS LOVELL BEDDOES BELIEVE IN THE EVOLUTION OF SPECIES?

Thomas Lovell Beddoes,¹ although one of the minor poets of his age, is decidedly a major figure in his relations to the idea of evolution, the vast complex movement in thought which was growing continually in power even during his life, and which in the latter half of the century became of such vital and permanent importance to all departments of human knowledge. And yet his attitude is elusive and hard to pin down to any definite formula. Certain influences from science and philosophy can be plainly seen working in him. Other similar influences can be guessed with greater or less plausibility. And there is something intangible in his very uneven poetry that breathes the spirit of a new point of view toward life. But just how far did Beddoes go toward a belief in the evolution of species? The whole way, or only part way? The question is, I think, interesting in itself; and it involves some matters which are of importance to many other English poets besides Beddoes, and to many other men of the time besides the English poets.

The first critic to call attention to Beddoes' evolutionary spirit seems to have been Ramsay Colles, in his introduction to *The Muses' Library* edition of Beddoes' poems.² Mr. Colles cited two passages from Beddoes' best-known work, *Death's Jest-Book* (Act V, scene i), and became, not without some reason, very enthusiastic about their significance in relation to evolution. The passages which he quoted are these:³

I have a bit of FIAT in my soul,
And can myself create my little world.
Had I been born a four-legged child, methinks
I might have found the steps from dog to man,
And crept into his nature.

¹ 1803-49.

² Published London, 1907.

³ Pages xxiv, xxv of the Introduction.

It was ever
 My study to find out a way to godhead.
 And on reflection soon I found that first
 I was but half created; that a power
 Was wanting in my soul to be its soul,
 And this was mine to make. Therefore I fashioned
 A will above my will, that plays upon it,
 As the first soul doth use in men and cattle.
 There's lifeless matter; add the power of shaping,
 And you've the crystal: add again the organs,
 Wherewith to subdue sustenance to the form
 And manner of one's self, and you've the plant:
 Add power of motion, senses, and so forth,
 And you've all kinds of beasts; suppose a pig:
 To pig add reason, foresight, and such stuff,
 Then you have man. What shall we add to man
 To bring him higher? I begin to think
 That's a discovery I soon shall make.

Concerning these passages, Mr. Colles commented:

Beddoes presents an instance of a physician who is also a poet, and it is curious that in this dual capacity of scientist and poet, that he should have realized the dictum of Wordsworth that "poetry is the finer breath of all science," by anticipating Charles Darwin's theory¹ as surely as the great naturalist's grandfather anticipated the general conclusion of *The Origin of Species* in his *Loves of the Plants*.

The second passage in particular he called "a passage with which Herbert Spencer might have prefaced his *Principles of Biology*, or Professor Haeckel have used as a motto for his great work on *The Evolution of Man*."

Mr. Colles has perceived a spirit of evolution which certainly exists in Beddoes' poetry, and in the lines quoted. But a resurvey of *Death's Jest-Book*, together with the rest of Beddoes' verse and letters, and a comparison of Beddoes' point of view with some of the currents of thought in his age which were leading toward the central idea of evolution, leave me of the opinion that Mr. Colles has jumped to his sweeping conclusions too hastily; that Beddoes' attitude is

¹ It was not, by the way, in *The Loves of the Plants* that Erasmus Darwin gave forth his most characteristic evolutionary ideas, but in his later poetry and prose. I assume, of course, that by "Charles Darwin's theory" Mr. Colles means simply evolution. Neither Erasmus Darwin nor Beddoes anticipated Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection.

less simple, and not so thoroughly evolutionary, as Mr. Colles' remarks would indicate.

Thomas Lovell Beddoes was the son of Thomas Beddoes, a physician who is himself of a great deal of historical interest in connection with English literature and science. Thomas Beddoes founded a "Pneumatic Institution" for experimenting on the treatment of disease by the inhalation of various gases. Of itself the Institution was of little if any permanent value to medicine; but Beddoes' assistant, Humphrey Davy, first gained fame while connected with it, and two well-known English poets, Coleridge and Southey, were greatly interested in the Institution and were firm friends of its founder.¹ Thomas Beddoes died in 1808, when his son was six years old.

During his youth and university days the younger Beddoes' interests seem to have been more literary than scientific, but after he received his Bachelor's degree from Oxford in 1825, he decided to become a physician, and went to Göttingen. From that time on he lived most of the time in Germany, obtaining his Doctor's degree at Würzburg. In 1849 he poisoned himself.

Beddoes' relations to the idea of evolution would probably be much clearer if we possessed some of his scientific writings. But the manuscripts which he left to Kelsall contain none, and if he wrote any scientific treatises he evidently destroyed them. He may possibly have been wise in doing so, but they would at least have been interesting material for the student of his ideas.

Beddoes probably obtained the greater part of his scientific knowledge after he began to study medicine in Germany. But there can be hardly a doubt that he became interested in science earlier in life. After his father's death, he was under the guardianship of Davies Giddy, who afterward became Sir Davies Gilbert, and president of the Royal Society. Giddy's place in science seems to have been that of a talented amateur rather than a professional student; but he was certainly well in touch with the science of his time. Though Beddoes does not seem to have been in close contact with his guardian, he may very well have seen something of him and have

¹ See Coleridge's *Letters* (London, 1895); *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey* (London, 1856); and Sir Humphrey Davy's *Fragmentary Remains*, edited by his brother John Davy (London, 1858).

come into contact with scientific ideas through him. The very fact that Beddoes turned to medicine after graduating from Oxford, too, indicates a probable earlier interest in such matters.

A passage in *The Improvisatore*,¹ one of Beddoes' early poems, is significant, not so much for showing any definite influence from the idea of evolution, as for illustrating the underlying tendency of Beddoes' mind which made fertile soil for the idea of evolution to grow powerful in:

Ye swiftly flitting hours of day and night,

 O tell me, if ye silent wisdom bring,—
 Ye smallest links of time's unravelled chain,
 That join to buried first the unborn last,
 The embryo future to the sunken past,—
 Tell me, (for ye have not been forged in vain,
 And ye have seen the fountain whence we spring),
 What is this life, that spins so strangely on
 That, ere we grasp and feel it, it is gone?

Beddoes' poetry is distinctive for a certain flavor, as James Russell Lowell would have put it, a zest of expression, feeling, and thought, rather than for a fully rounded philosophic breadth of view. And the sense of the strange, mysterious recesses of time, both past and future, the sense that the present is bound to the past and future by indissoluble ties, is one of the characteristic notes in his verse that help give it the unique quality which it possesses. The interest in those links which join the embryo future to the sunken past is not something peculiar to Beddoes, however. It is one of the emotional reactions which the advance of science toward and to evolution has brought, and it can be seen in the poetry of Tennyson and other later nineteenth-century poets. In Beddoes' own age we can find hints of this interest, in Byron's *Cain*, for instance, and in Keats's *Endymion*.²

In connection with this passage Mr. Colles prints in his edition a note by Beddoes which calls attention to the fact that the whole passage, from which I have extracted the lines which I quote, is the speech of a madman:

When a writer is drawing a wicked or weak character, it is necessary to him to make such a being's words agree with his actions; and one might as

¹ Published at Oxford, 1821. Fytte 3 (*Leopold*), stanza vi. ² *Endymion*, Book III.

well consider the successful actor of Iago or George Barnwell a villain, as accuse the author of the wickedness or madness which he describes, upon the *sole evidence of such writings*.¹

It is well to keep in mind the fact that Beddoes in *The Improvisatore*, and in other places through his poems, as well, is writing dramatically. The note, however, applies more particularly to some pantheistic suggestions in another part of the passage from that which I have quoted. And since Beddoes' sense of the mysteries of the buried past is something which appears in many undramatically written passages through his poems,² we can safely put it down as his own feeling.

In Beddoes' time the buried past was becoming a little less mysterious through the rise of a new science, paleontology. Even in the preceding century, fossils had come to be generally recognized as remains of living animals and plants, not mere "sports of nature." During the century, also, the older belief that all these fossils were deposited during the Noachian Deluge was gradually becoming less and less commonly held by intelligent thinkers. Such men as Buffon, Hutton, and William Smith brought forward unmistakable evidence that living creatures had lived, died, and left their remains as fossils on this earth, during vast periods of time before the date which the Mosaic account gave for the Deluge. And one of these men, Buffon, had recognized also that such fossils, by their differences from the animals and plants of today, gave evidence pointing toward the idea that species are not fixed, but have changed in the course of long ages.

Paleontology as a recognized science, however, began with Cuvier.* Cuvier studied carefully the fossil bones, teeth, shells, and other such remains, that had been collected up to his time, and was able to classify them zoologically or botanically, according to the same system by which he classified living animals or plants. The influence of this brilliant scientist's ideas was enormous, and extended all over the civilized world. Cuvier did not believe in the evolution of species; he believed that no human remains had been or would be found among fossils, and he made room for the Deluge in his theory

¹ *Italics Beddoes'.*

² For instance, the "Stanzas from the Ivory Gate," quoted below. * 1769-1832.

of the world's history, identifying it as the last of a number of great catastrophes which geologists then thought had occurred at intervals of thousands of years in the past. The opposition which Cuvier gave the idea of evolution retarded its growth for nearly half a century. But meanwhile he was continually, though unconsciously, collecting evidence for the very idea which he rejected, and through him the civilized world became interested in prehistoric animals and plants whose fossilized remains were being found in greater and greater numbers. Men began to talk familiarly of antediluvians and pre-Adamites, and prehistoric monsters of all sorts.¹

Beddoes was impressed, like many other poets of his time, but more deeply than any of the rest, with these discoveries and theories of Cuvier and his fellow-students of paleontology, and speaks of antediluvians and pre-Adamites again and again through his poems. Two passages will show his typical spirit:

I followed once a fleet and mighty serpent
 Into a cavern in a mountain's side;
 And, wading many lakes, descending gulphs,
 At last I reached the ruins of a city,
 Built not like ours, but of another world,
 As if the aged earth had loved in youth
 The mightiest city of a perished planet,
 And kept the image of it in her heart,
 So dream-like, shadowy, and spectral was it.
 Naught seemed alive there, and the bony dead
 Were of another world the skeletons.
 The mammoth, ribbed like to an arched cathedral,
 Lay there, and ruins of great creatures else
 More like a shipwrecked fleet, too vast they seemed
 For all the life that is to animate:
 And vegetable rocks, tall sculptured palms,
 Pines grown, not hewn, in stone; and giant ferns,
 Whose earthquake-shaken leaves bore graves for nests.²

¹ For fuller accounts of the growth of paleontology, and of its intimate relations with the idea of evolution, see for example: W. N. Rice: *Christian Faith in an Age of Science* (New York, 1904); H. F. Osborne: *From the Greeks to Darwin* (New York and London, 1894); H. W. Conn: *Evolution of Today* (New York and London, 1887); or almost any historical account of geology, or of organic evolution.

² One of the "Fragments of Death's Jest-Book." See edition of Gosse, II, 163.

STANZAS FROM "THE IVORY GATE"

The mighty thoughts of an old world
 Fan, like a dragon's wing unfurled,
 The surface of my yearnings deep;
 And solemn shadows then awake,
 Like the fish-lizard in the lake,
 Troubling a planet's morning sleep.

My waking is a Titan's dream,
 Where a strange sun, long set, doth beam
 Through Montezuma's cypress bough:
 Through the fern wilderness forlorn
 Glisten the giant harts' great horn,
 And serpents vast with helmed brow.

The measureless from caverns rise
 With steps of earthquake, thunderous cries,
 And graze upon the lofty wood;
 The palmy grove, through which doth gleam
 Such antediluvian ocean's stream,
 Haunts shadowy my domestic mood.¹

Some of Beddoes' inspiration for such lines on antediluvians may have come from Byron or Keats. But he may very well have read Cuvier or Buffon, for himself, likewise; and neither Byron nor Keats was so deeply impressed as Beddoes was, with the poetic possibilities in fossils.

Another idea contributory to the idea of evolution became prominent in the latter eighteenth century, and grew increasingly important through the years during which Beddoes lived. This idea is usually termed the unity of animal organization. On it rose the science of comparative anatomy. The unity of animal organization includes first, the conception that all the parts of any *single* animal are interrelated and interdependent; that one organ is dependent on another organ, this on a set of muscles and nerves, and so on throughout the body. Out of this first idea of interrelation in the parts of a single animal body rose a second, more far reaching, and, in its relations to evolution, more important, that the structures of *different species* of animals are all interrelated—that the organs of a number of different animal groups are similar to each other in structure or in function.

¹ Evidently written about 1837. See Gosse's *Memoir*, Gosse edition, I, 68.

The most familiar example of this interrelation is given by the human hand. Comparative anatomy has shown that the hand of a man corresponds in its structure to the forefoot of a horse, or a cat, or any quadruped; to the wing of a bird; to the fin of a fish; and so on. The corresponding parts often have different functions in different species of animals; but animals are all built on the same general plan. The recognition of these interrelations in structure among animals prepared very definitely the way for the idea that one animal has developed into another animal—in other words, for the idea of organic evolution.

Three men during Beddoes' lifetime were especially prominent in advocating one or the other of the two conceptions included by the term "unity of animal organization." Cuvier was the great exponent of the first—unity among the parts of a single animal—and utilized the idea in his paleontological studies. His famous assertion that a skilled anatomist could tell the species of an animal from the well-preserved extremity of a single bone, is applicable both to the study of comparative anatomy and to the study of paleontology.¹ Cuvier opposed decidedly the conception of unity among different animals, however; the two great exponents of this larger idea of unity were John Hunter in England, and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire in France.²

Beddoes was strongly influenced by this growing idea of the unity of animal organization, and in most significant fashion links it with the ancient worlds shown by paleontology, and with his own sense of the mysteries of past and future. In a letter to B. W. Procter ("Barry Cornwall"), written in 1820,³ he refers to his studies in anatomy, in this way:

Today a truant from the odd, old bones
And winds of flesh, which, as tamed rocks and stones
Piled cavernously make his body's dwelling,
Have housed man's soul: there, where time's billows swelling

¹ See Cuvier's *Discours sur les Révolutions de la Surface du Globe*. The statement is in paragraph 27 of the 1818 English translation.

² The evidence for Hunter's importance in this connection comes chiefly from comments by his admirers; for example: S. T. Coleridge: *The Friend* (Coleridge's *Complete Works*, New York, 1884), sec. 2, Essay 7; Ralph Waldo Emerson was also a great admirer of Hunter for this reason. One of the best accounts of the early history of the idea of animal unity, as well as of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's part in its development, is: Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire: *Vie, Travaux, etc., de Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire*, Paris and Strasbourg, 1847.

³ Postmarked March 23, 1826. (Beddoes' *Letters*, pp. 91 ff. The verses are in Gosse's edition of Beddoes' poems, I, 32 ff.)

Make a deep, ghostly, and invisible sea
 Of melted worlds antediluvially,
 Upon the sand of ever-crumbling hours,
 God-founded, stands the castle, all its towers
 With veiny tendrils ivied:—this bright day
 I leave its chambers—

The dim suggestion of antediluvian worlds having helped to form man's body is instinct both with the growing idea of animal unity, and also with the spirit of evolution—though not completely. Beddoes' interest in comparative anatomy, and in the unity of animal organization, comes directly from his medical studies, and probably in particular from Blumenbach, under whom he studied at Göttingen, and whom he admired greatly. Blumenbach was one of the greatest university teachers of his age, and was particularly prominent in comparative anatomy and anthropology. But there is no reason to suppose that Blumenbach believed in evolution.

There were elements, then, from paleontology, comparative anatomy, and physiology, combining in Beddoes' mind and leading him toward the idea of evolution. With these facts in mind, let us turn again to the passages in *Death's Jest-Book*,¹ which Mr. Colles has quoted.

Both passages occur in a single speech of Isbrand, one of the more important characters in the play. Isbrand has just usurped a dukedom, and his ambition is turning toward even higher things—in this case, a kingdom. It is in connection with this ambition that he speaks the lines, "I have a bit of *fiat* in my soul," and, "It was ever my study to find out a way to godhead." Shortly after this point in the play, Isbrand is assassinated. The lines, then, must be interpreted with reference to the ambitious man who is speaking them. When he says that if he had been born a dog he might have found the way to become a man, there is more than a possibility that Beddoes intended the remark as a grotesque flight of imagination similar to numerous others in the poem. The same possibility applies to the line further on, where Isbrand says he begins to think he can discover

¹ *Death's Jest-Book* was largely written by a year or so after Beddoes' arrival in Germany, but he kept retouching it all through his life, and I can see no means of determining in what year these passages which Mr. Colles quotes were written. There are three versions of *Death's Jest-Book* in manuscript, according to Gosse, and an examination of these might throw more light on the subject.

a way to bring man higher. In Act IV,¹ for example, Isbrand, says, in a similar vein: "O you small star-mob, had I been one of you, I would have seized the sky some moonless night, and made myself the sun." Does anyone imagine that Beddoes is expressing here some scientific theory which he believed in?

The lines in *Death's Jest-Book* do express clearly one thing, which is borne out by the passage from Beddoes' letter to Barry Cornwall, that I have quoted before, regarding man's body. This is the idea of the unity in animal composition. All degrees of life are made on fundamentally the same plan. To lifeless matter add the power of shaping, and you have a crystal; add certain organs, and you have the plant, and so on up, as Beddoes' verses describe it. Samuel Taylor Coleridge expresses very much the same idea, in his *Theory of Life*; and Coleridge did not reach the idea of evolution, though he came near it.

The crucial question is, then, did Beddoes believe that this unity of composition meant that one form of life grew into a higher form, or did he simply mean that God, or Nature, created at first the lower forms of life, and then successively higher and higher forms? Perhaps a passage in a letter to Kelsall, written in 1837,² may throw some light on the question. Beddoes is speaking humorously of his early literary efforts:

I know not what the creator of a planet may think of his first efforts when he looks into the cavernous recesses which contain the first sketches of organized life beings,—but it is strange enough to see the fossilized faces of one's forgotten literary creatures years after the vein of feeling in which they were formed, has remained closed and unexplored.

This seems to indicate the attitude that God, Nature, or "the creator of a planet" created the lower forms of life as first efforts, incomplete experiments, as it were, and later created higher and higher forms—an attitude which does not necessarily imply any belief at all in the growth of one species from another, and does *not* mean that Beddoes believed in the evolution of species.

But Beddoes actually has Isbrand say he has "a bit of *fiat*" in him, and could climb up the steps from dog to man, or make man

¹ Gosse edition, II, 131.

² May 15, 1837. (Beddoes' *Letters*, p. 216.)

something higher. This, as I have said, is quite possibly a bit of grotesque exaggeration in keeping with Isbrand's Faust-like mood, and Beddoes may be making Isbrand assume in his ambitious imagination some properties of the divine creator of the world. But the idea of evolution is *there*, whether Beddoes was writing out his own beliefs or not.

One or two things make me suspect that Beddoes owes this last semi-grotesque presentiment of evolution to the second part of Goethe's *Faust*. The curious allegorical details of "Homunculus" progress toward complete existence, in the second part of *Faust*, embody some of Goethe's evolutionary views.¹ And Beddoes, with his taste for the grotesque, would have been very much interested had he read it. The second part of *Faust* was published in 1832, the year of Goethe's death. By that time Beddoes had the main plot of *Death's Jest-Book* thought out, but was still retouching it, and continued to do so till his death in 1849. He may have added, for example, his comic character, "Homunculus Mandrake," after reading Goethe's great drama. Homunculus Mandrake is not an integral part of Beddoes' plot, and might very well be a later addition. Beddoes was well acquainted with German literature, and had his own opinions about Goethe.² He almost certainly must have read *Faust II* when it appeared, and it seems probable that traces of such a reading appear in the character of Homunculus Mandrake, and also in the evolutionary twist to Isbrand's boasting speech.

To sum up my conclusions: Beddoes certainly felt that the present, past, and future are intimately bound together by natural processes and natural laws. He was intensely interested in the prehistoric world upon which the paleontologists of his time were throwing so much new light. He almost certainly believed in the unity of animal organization, and he felt deeply that man's body is somehow the result of processes and forces extending back into prehistoric times. These ideas were leading him toward a belief in evolution.

¹ For example, *Faust II*, Act 2, *Classische Walpurgisnacht*, ll. 8321 ff.:

Gib nach dem löblichen Verlangen
Von vorn die Schöpfung anzufangen!
Zu raschem Wirken sei bereit!
Da regst du dich nach ewigen Normen,
Durch tausend, abertausend Formen,
Und bis zum Menschen hast du Zeit.

² See, for example, letter of March 25, 1825 (Beddoes' *Letters*, pp. 60-61).

He became acquainted with the idea of organic evolution itself, too—probably, as I have tried to show, through Goethe, if not through other channels also. But whether he himself actually *believed* in the evolution of species, I doubt extremely. The typical eighteenth-century idea of the scale of being was susceptible to various modifications, some of which appear to our twentieth-century minds very much like evolution, but which almost certainly meant nothing of the sort to men of that earlier time. Beddoes seems to have believed in the scale of being, and to have believed that the higher forms of life in the scale were created after the lower—but the creation of higher forms *after* lower does not necessarily imply a development of higher forms *from* lower. Beddoes was moving toward a belief in evolution. But he gives no evidence, in his writings which have been published, that he ever reached that belief.

G. R. POTTER

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
HANOVER, N.H.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Contributo allo studio delle fonti italiane del teatro di Juan del Encina e Torres Naharro. By P. MAZZEI. Lucca, Tipografia Amedei, 1922. Pp. 124.

This study adds some useful information to the vexed question of the Italian influence on the beginnings of the Spanish drama. The first chapter, on Encina, points out what could be the source of the main motive in Encina's *Representación de Amor* (or, as the author calls it after Gallardo, the *Triunfo de Amor*), in Francesco Linaiole's *Vallera*. Sienna, *s.a.*: Cupido, defied by the shepherd Vallera, subdues him with an arrow. Unfortunately, the date of Encina's playlet, 1497, established by its performance before Prince John who died in that year, must stand against the author's assertion to the contrary. It is unlikely that Encina had been in Italy by that time, his *Égloga de las grandes lluvias* being performed on Christmas eve 1498, when he was still interested in the position of *cantor* in the cathedral of Salamanca.

A good point is made when the author declares that the date of publication (which in the Italian farces considered here is hardly ever earlier than 1510) does not mean everything. It might be added that even the dates of the earliest editions known or known to be recorded, for instance of the Siennese farces, can be shown to be misleading. To give only a few examples: the earliest editions known to Mazzi (*La Congrega dei Rozzi*, Florence, 1882) of Bastiano di Francesco's *Egloga di Amicitia*, Niccolò Campano's (*Il Strascino*) *Comedia o vero farsa*, and the same author's *Egloga alla martorella chiamata Strascino* are dated respectively Sienna 1523, 1524, 1519, whereas the *Regestrum* of Ferdinand Columbus reveals editions of these dated respectively 1514, 1514, 1511. That is a comforting fact to bear in mind while inquiring into the Italian sources of the Spanish drama and one which should enlarge the field of investigation, but it still leaves the undoubted similarity between Encina's *Representación* and the *Vallera* somewhat of a puzzle.

There is no such trouble in the case of *Cristino y Febea*, the general motive of which is found in Niccolò Alticozzi's *I cinque disperati* (no date, MS in Sienna), where five desperate men retire from the world and are lured back, all but one, by the wiles of a nymph. Of course the connection of *I cinque disperati* with the *Representación de Amor* is superficial. The suicide and resuscitation theme, an important part of Encina's *Plácida y Vitoriano*, is pointed out in Alticozzi's *La Cintia* (Sienna, 1524, but probably earlier),

where the nymph Cintia, killed by Diana, and Cintia's lover, Albano, who committed suicide at her death, are resurrected after a Latin invocation to Jove.

The two remaining chapters are devoted to Torres Naharro. That there is Italian influence in his works is obvious and undeniable, but it is more pervasive than specific. Only three comedies, however, show traces of it; the *Aquilana* and *Calamita*, (neither of them included in the *Propalladia* of 1517) and the *Serafina*, which is mostly in Valencian dialect and stands apart from the six other plays. The *Serafina*, in spite of its place at the beginning of the *Propalladia* is no doubt the latest play written by Torres Naharro before 1517. That Teodoro, the *fraile* in the *Serafina*, is the counterpart of Timoteo, in Machiavelli's *Mandragola*, has long been known, but now a good case is made for its derivation from the *Commedia in versi*, often printed with Machiavelli's comedies, but possibly by Luigi Strozzi. The connection between the *Calamita* and Bibbiena's *Calandria*, noticed already by Creizenach and Flamini, is examined in detail, and some curious textual similarities with the *Commedia in versi* and the *Mandragola* are indicated, while the influence of the *Dolotechne* of Zamberti, recently suggested by Professor Crawford, is minimized. As to the *Aquilana*, little can be said for connecting it with Ariosto's *Suppositi*. More convincing is the comparison with Mariano Maniscalco's *Pietà d'amore*, suggested long ago by Stiefel and Creizenach. But it certainly is more convincing to the reader of the skeleton summary than to one acquainted with Maniscalco's play. An interesting specific remembrance of the *Calandria* is noticed, and the suggestion is made that the direct source of the Antiochus episode (discovery of love by feeling the lover's pulse) may be Leonardi Bruni's *novella* on that subject, published in Sienna in 1511.

Altogether, this publication, while much of it is not new, reviews the current notions on Italian influence conscientiously, contributes three or four extremely valuable suggestions and points out a number of small but convincing textual similarities. The author can see dissimilarities as well as resemblances: Torres Naharro's essential independence of the Classics (p. 95) or the difference between Torcazo and Calandro (p. 113) are well and fairly stated. Again, in his general considerations, in his conception of Torres Naharro's personal character (p. 123), the author shows reading and judgment. The printing, however, makes one feel that the printer might have appropriately reproduced the remark placed by Díaz Tanco de Fregenal at the end of his *Jardín del Alma Christiana*: "No se pone aqui inventario de las incorrecciones de este libro, porque son tantas que sería menester aumentar otro pliego."

JOSEPH E. GILLET

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland. La Genèse historique, le Cadre géographique, le Milieu, les Personnages, la Date et l'Auteur du Poème. By P. BOISSONNADE. Paris: Champion, 1923. Pp. vi+520. 8.

La Chanson de Roland, publiée d'après le Manuscrit d'Oxford et Traduite par JOSEPH BÉDIER. Paris: L'Édition d'Art, s. d.[1922]. Pp. xvii+320. 18.

It would seem as if the comparative inactivity of French scholars in the field of *Roland*-studies (cf. *Modern Philology*, XIX, 426) were now coming to an end: Chamard's translation and these two important works are evidence of a lively interest in the oldest French epic. It is to be hoped that an effort will soon be made to attack the two fundamental problems which still await solution, the question of dialect (cf. *Modern Philology*, XVI, 569) and the question of the relations of the manuscripts and versions.

Neither of the works listed above approaches these two problems. M. Bédier gives us a new collation of the Bodleian manuscript, together with a prose translation in that limpid French of which he is so enviable a master; M. Boissonnade, who announces (p.255) that he is dealing with the *Roland* as a "simple historian," has nothing to say either as an investigator of literary origins and processes, or as a student of the Old French language. Thus we seem to be as far as ever from the definitive edition which M. Jeanroy, president of the Société des anciens Textes français, petitioned for; at the same time, substantial progress is being made in clearing the ground.

The promise of M. Boissonnade's title (a title which to some might seem a trifle *tapageur*) is fulfilled by what he has brought together in his chapters on the French crusades in Spain, from 1018 to about 1250. During this long period there were in all no fewer than thirty-four French expeditions into Spain. His main thesis is that the *Chanson de Roland* grew out of the situation created by these Spanish campaigns: the Oriental crusades must take a much less important place than was assigned to them by Tavernier and others. It was the Spanish danger, he asserts, which stirred and inspired the poet; it was the French nobles who fought in Spain who furnished the models for the Rolands and Olivers of the poem; and finally, it is the study of the French alliances, political and matrimonial, with the kings of Aragon which will "lift the veil" from the poem.

What happened in Spain during the twenty Spanish expeditions of the years 1018 to 1120 is especially significant for *Roland* criticism: unfortunately, says Boissonnade, these events received but scanty attention from contemporary historians, compared with what was written on the exploits of the Normans in Calabria and Sicily, or on the *Iter Jerusalem* of 1096. The author proceeds to search the French and Spanish documents for allusions to the events and personages of those never-ending struggles, and to weave the

meager details into a consecutive narrative. From these he passes to a close scrutiny of the geographical names of the poem, first the Spanish, then the African, then the Oriental and East-European. This is undoubtedly the most valuable part of the work; the other sections, those on the date and authorship, and particularly those devoted to the search for persons who were prototypes for characters in the poem, are of less value. The latter are of much less value, because the author appears to have left too much out of sight the simple fact that the *Song of Roland* is a poem alleged to be of the time of Charlemagne, and the likelihood that its author (or authors) had some sense of historical perspective. M. Boissonnade is not the first writer on the *Roland* to overlook this: Tavernier and L. Gautier had done so before him. Witness this passage from the latter:

L'auteur [du *Roland*] ne parle jamais de Jérusalem comme d'une ville appartenant aux Chrétiens: il la suppose toujours aux mains des mécréants. Donc le poème a dû, suivant nous, être composé avant cette année 1099 qu'a illustré pour toujours la prise de la ville sainte par Godefroy de Bouillon.¹

But why, in the name of what is reasonable, should a poet who was composing (or editing) a poem about the great Charles and his nephew, personages of the eighth century, speak of Jerusalem as it was after its capture at the end of the eleventh century? To any hearer or reader of the day, such an anachronism would have been ludicrous.

As to the Spanish geography of the poem, the author may claim to have made some identifications which are almost certainly correct: such are *Sorence* (=Sarance, on the north side of the Pyrenees), *Noples* (=Napal, a chateau in the diocese of Barbastro), *Haltlie* (=a French pronunciation of Sp. *altilla* 'hill'), *Moriane* (=Mariana, in the province of Burgos); and several others. Here, the gain from M. Boissonnade's researches is considerable. In numerous other cases, his identifications remain, to say the least, debatable. Rejecting the traditional equations *Cordres*=Córdoba, and *Sebilie*=Sevilla, as being too far away from the constant scene of operations (the Ebro valley), the author argues for *Cortes*, a small town in Navarre, and for *Sevil*, near Barbastro. But this ignores the fact that there existed a legend that Charles had pushed his conquests as far as Córdoba, a myth reproduced in all seriousness by Adhemar de Chabannes (988-1034) and by other historians. It was, no doubt, generally believed to be true, and why should an

¹ L. Gautier, in L. Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la Langue et Littérature française*, I, 90-91. Gautier's argument, of course, reflects the "cantilène" theory, according to which one might expect to find in the poem shreds and patches of widely divergent dates, single lines indeed, which, like the lines of flotsam on the shore, are there to mark the height of the tide in some distant past. But M. Boissonnade, who everywhere follows M. Bédier, views the *cantilène* theory as totally and definitely discredited (p. 2: "ces théories . . . se sont écroulées . . .") and his error is of a different sort: it consists in regarding every incident and personage of the *Roland* as being necessarily contemporary with the Spanish expeditions whose history he has done so much to elucidate.

epic poet, aiming to arouse the ardor of French chevaliers against threatening paynims, be more skeptical or cautious than a historian ?¹

In his search for "originals" for the main personages of the poem—Roland, Oliver, Ganelon, Turpin, Alde—the author has written diffusely, but too often with the slenderest of results; his main service, in these chapters, is to have passed in review what has been printed on this subject. Nor can a more satisfactory report be made upon the treatment of the some forty secondary figures—Ogier, Anseïs, Girart de Rossillon, Naimon, and the others; here the net result is, in nearly every case, a mass of evidence that the name under consideration was more or less common in the charters of this or that locality. That more valuable material was not unearthed in this thorough search seems to the reviewer strong confirmation of the soundness of the principle proposed above: the author of the *Roland* was consciously writing a poem of the eighth century, and he possessed a good sense of historical perspective.

In more than one of his most confident identifications, M. Boissonnade weakens his case seriously by failure to attend to the actual reading of the Oxford MS. Thus, at verse 1624 (=1581 of the editions) he ignores two facts: that the reading of O, *et quiun de seint antonie*, is hypermetric, and that the other versions, significantly enough, do not support *Saint Antoine*, the reading he adopts: thus V⁴ lacks *saint*, while the Norse has *Sanitun*, which probably is = *Santónie*, that is Saintonge. The same neglect of the linguistic data is even more damaging in the long passage (five pages) which aims to identify the fief of Le Hum: what is accumulated there may ultimately be of use in running to earth the elusive Walter du Hum, a figure which G. Paris declared would one day give us the clue to the *patrie* of Count Roland; but the author entirely overlooks the fact that where *Hum* occurs in assonance (vs. 2039) it assonates with (*ü*) and not with (*u*)—with *perdu* and not with *amur*. This pronunciation would discredit, if not exclude, the names derived from Lat. *ūlmum*, of which Boissonnade lists such a formidable number.²

Following his general thesis that the *Roland* grew out of the French expeditions into Spain, the author, apparently in order to place the poem at the apogee of this movement, would add a decade to what has been the received date: he places the *Roland*, as we have it, between the years 1120 and 1124-25. No new evidence of prime importance has been found, and the argument cannot be called convincing. Much more impressive are the pages which

¹ Cf. Adhemar de Chabannes, ed. Chavanon, p. 68. The author's argument against Cordres = Cordūbas on linguistic grounds (p. 127) is extremely weak: he seems to believe that Spanish Córdoba is accented on the penult. Nor can the fact that the word *Sebilis* in the *Roland* is a trisyllable be wholly ignored.

² It is by no means certain, either, that the Norman place-names *Hom*, *Hum*, *Homest* and the like, are from Lat. *ūlmum*; the Norse *holm-r* is also to be considered, and this vowel would satisfy the assonance in *Roland* just as little. Similarly (p. 215) against the equation *les Gros* = the Kurds (*Curti* in the Latin historians) is the assonance in open (*o*).

aim to prove that the author of *Roland* must have been a Norman: it would seem that this will now have been conceded as practically certain. As to the identity of Tuoldus, Boissonnade produces a new and unexpected candidate: a certain Guillaume Tuold, a Norman clerk, resident at Tudela. Of this idea, it is perhaps sufficient to record that M. Boissonnade himself speaks of it as an *hypothèse*.

We regret that the author was unable to provide his readers either with an index or with maps: the latter would have been particularly welcome. The bibliography (22 pages), especially that of the French and Spanish cartularies, will be useful. We fail to find, in the sections on the *Roland*, any mention of the works of the Americans Luquiens and Warren.¹

The new prose translation of the *Roland* has had the benefit of a new collation of the Bodleian MS, M. Bédier having been called to Oxford (June, 1921) to deliver the Romanes Lecture. That this re-reading of the MS yielded such extremely meager results is a tribute to the care expended by Stengel in making his diplomatic reprint of 1878.²

The merits of any translation depend, of course, upon the text chosen as a basis. M. Bédier, with a degree of scruple which seems excessive, prints the Oxford MS with almost no effort to supply gaps, to make normal meter, or correct assonance, even in those cases where it is reasonably certain that the Bodleianus has suffered from the errors and alterations which usually befall MSS in their transmission. This attitude, which is explained and defended at some length in the *Avant-Propos*, is in line with the author's opinion that "retouches" are inadmissible on any grounds whatever, when it comes to dealing with the Bodleianus; we are given to believe that nearly all previous editors, in admitting conjectured readings, have laid sacrilegious hands upon the venerable codex, they have yielded to the temptation to introduce inventions of their own. This seems an over-severe judgment, especially if we leave out of account Stengel, whose explanatory volume was never published. Even G. Paris is taxed with temerity in having transposed the text of his *Extracts* from the western spelling into that of central French; this, to M. Bédier, is a mere "jeu de philologues, très séduisant, mais arbitraire." When we find that what was involved in the change amounts to

¹ The proofreading has not been done with all the care which is desirable. Thus the date of Wendt's dissertation on the Oliver legend is given on page 335 as 1900, on page 503 as 1904, whereas the correct date is 1911. The name Comnène is misspelled several times (pp. 197, 203, 499). A quotation (p. 194, note) from the Chronicle of Turpin is wrongly ascribed to Albert of Aix, probably through a misreading of Tavernier's *Vorgeschichte*, p. 81.

² Neither Stengel nor Bédier noticed that it is plain from the photographic facsimile that the MS at vs. 1428 reads *Senz* and not *Seins*; at vs. 3245, what Stengel mistook for *de Clauers* is really *Sclauers* (cf. the capital *S* at vss. 337, 1275, etc.) which, as the line is hypermetric, is probably to be solved by [d' E]sclers; at vs. 43, *ienuetierai* may also be read *renuetierai*, to the improvement of the passage; at vs. 306, *nerca* may equally well be read *neres*, i.e., *n'eres*; and there are probably other rectifications to be made.

little more than spelling *amor* instead of *amur*, *vos* (which O has, at times) for *vus*, etc., this judgment also will strike many scholars as over-severe.¹

But "ne restaurer à aucun prix" is M. Bédier's avowed motto, and this "hands-off" policy, stated as it is with all the author's resources of expression, is bound to make a strong appeal; but it must be admitted that it will appeal most strongly to persons who are unfamiliar with ancient and medieval manuscripts, to those who are unaccustomed to dealing with the mischievous errors and changes made by hasty, ignorant or inattentive copyists. Are we then to abandon hard-won results not only in the Romance field, but in classical philology as well? For, as G. Paris said, years ago: "les exigences de la critique sont absolument les mêmes pour les productions du moyen-âge que pour celles de l'antiquité." But, *ex fructibus cognoscelis!* Let us see some of the actual fruits of the principle of "absolutely no restorations."

Lines 2926-28 read in O (Charlemagne is speaking):

Ki guierat mes oz a tel poeste
Quant cil est ki tuz jurz nos cadelet ?
E france cum remeines deserte!

While V⁴ 3110-12:

Chi guidarai mai çent por tel poeste
Quando quilli e morti che li altri caelle ?
Ay franca dolce cum reman oi deserte!

In verse 2927, both sense and meter require an additional word or syllable, and M. Bédier, as others had done, introduces *morz* from the *morti* of V⁴; well and good. In verse 2928, meter and grammar require another syllable in the first member and some remedy for the inadmissible subjunctive *remeines*. But here, for 2928, M. Bédier refuses the help of V⁴, while accepting it for 2927. Note that acceptance of V⁴ gives excellent sense, correct grammar, and correct meter:

E! France dulce, cum remains oi deserte.

Also that, at v. 1985, we have in O a parallel line:

E! France dulce, cun hoi remendras guaste.

Also that *France dulce* with post-placed adjective, is instanced elsewhere (vss. 16, 1064, 1210, etc.).

Thus, the policy of "no restorations" results, in this case, in needlessly presenting readers with a verse lame in meter and impossible in grammar. Is the policy worth this price?

Somewhat different but no less significant, is the question raised by verse 485:

O: Marsilies fut esculurez del ire
V⁴: Marsilio sa asa d'arte & de liure

¹ The more so as spellings with (o) instead of (u), such as *nos*, *vos*, *felon*, *baron*, *lor*, *fors*, *tenebros*, *nevold*, are tolerably frequent in O. In a few minutes, the writer counted a score of instances: would it be "an arbitrary game" to always print *nus*, *vus* and *lur*?

Here it has been proposed by Foerster (1878) to read *fut escollez de lire* 'was schooled in reading,' instead of *fut escolorez de l'ire* 'grew pale with anger'—a wide divergence in meaning. Does it weigh naught with the *noli tangere* school of text-criticism that the *livre* of V⁴ points to *lire* rather than to *ire*; that the Norse version says, "Der König Marsilius war ein guter Gelehrter"; that the *Ruolandesliet* has: "ther kuninc Marsilie . . . er wole gelêret was." Apparently not, for M. Bédier keeps the reading of O, and translates: 'a blêmi de courroux.' But the evidence does not end here. It appears certain that a verb *escolorer* does not really exist in Old French; there is a verb *escolorir*, but not *escolorer*; there is also *descolorer*, which occurs in *Roland*, vss. 1979, 2218, and twice in Garnier's *Vie saint-Thomas*, 4698:

De duel e de coruz furent descoluré.

And verse 5016:

En sa chambre en entra d'ire desculurez.¹

Can we resist the conviction that it was the existence of this phrase, instanced in a poem exactly contemporary with the Bodleianus, that led the copyist into his blunder? On the other hand, *escolé de vièle*, *escolé d'amors*, *escolé de mentir* are well-authenticated OF expressions. Note also that the definite article does not appear in Garnier's phrases, and that the meter of verse 485 is improved (that is, it is more in line with the meter elsewhere in *Roland*) when *fut* is placed just after the cesura instead of just before it. All these facts duly weighed, does Foerster's emendation deserve to be passed over in silence? Shall we not rather agree with Professor Postgate: "Systematic retention of what is faulty, on the ground that it is conceivably genuine, will do more harm on the whole to the original than its systematic rejection." Granted a badly damaged original, it is a question as to which policy does the least harm; for us, a fixed and rigid policy of "no restorations" does much more harm than one of trained and conscientious effort to repair the damage. One has a perfect right, of course, not to accept Foerster's emendation, but readings like his *escolez de lire* do not deserve to be dismissed as mere "retouches," or "raccommodements," or to be branded with such adjectives as "ingenious" or "arbitrary"; for, as Professor Rendel Harris has said, "behind the simple and convincing suggestion there often lies, besides the resources of what is called learning, a long experience as reader, as copyist, and as editor, without which the step to the successful correction would never have been made."² Conjectural emendations, like etymologies, are not demonstrable; hence they are always vulnerable, and M. Bédier, to our regret, does not spare his irony at the expense of his predecessors. Fortunately, it is only the uninitiated who will confuse conjecture with guessing.

¹ Edition by E. Walberg, Lund, 1922.

² *Side-Lights on New Testament Research*, London, 1908, p. 184. For Professor Postgate on textual criticism, see *A Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by John Edwin Sandys, 3d ed., 1921, p. 805.

In practice, M. Bédier is nearly always true to his policy: in the first 1,000 lines there remain undisturbed some fifteen lines which have too many syllables (two in fact have 13), and seven are left with too few. Among the latter is one (vs. 321) which is not on its feet because the editor admits the Anglo-Normanism *frai* for *ferai*, and five which have the lyric cesura, a feature without parallel in all the range of the Old French epics. And yet—strange contradiction!—the editor is bent (as we all are) upon presenting “our beautiful old texts,” or, as one of his followers has put it, upon preventing “the old, beautiful lines” from being lost.¹ Since M. Bédier likened his manuscript to the venerable stones of an ancient church, of which we should “preserve as much as possible, repair as little as possible, and restore not at all,” we will say for our part that any editor who refrains, at verse 2928, from printing *E France dulce* in place of the copyist's blunder, *E France*, is like an archaeologist who, seeing strewn upon the ground the drums of a broken shaft, refuses to put them back into place lest a mistake be made in their order. Not thus, surely, will even the most interesting medieval works of literary art make their way with the lettered public and finally come into their own.

One other aspect of the matter may be touched upon. Four years ago (*Modern Philology*, XVI, 569) I attempted to show that there are no Anglo-Norman linguistic traits in O which are demonstrably those of the author (authors) of the *Roland*. Evidently this effort made no impression upon M. Bédier, for, two years later (*Romania*, XLVII, 465) appeared his article on “Les Assonances en-É et en-IÉ,” the main thesis of which is that occasional assonances of (iê) with (é)—an Anglo-Norman trait—must be admitted, and that editors who act on the contrary opinion are “sacrificing the text.” Here is the same exaggerated respect for the last copyist of O,² the same easy dismissal of much of the patient work of the last fifty years, the same irony as to those who still believe in the soundness of the phonetic law discovered by Mussafia and Bartsch, and in its applicability (except in the cases studied in detail by Suchier; see his *Voyelles toniques*, p. 86) to the writers who used the literary language of the twelfth century. I cannot now argue the matter in detail; one or two specific cases must suffice.

At verse 528, in a strophe in (é), M. Bédier would keep the word *osteier*, against the assonance. This he would do for two reasons: the poet, he asserts,

¹ Cited with warm approval by E. S. Tyler, *La Chanson de Willame*, New York, 1919, p. v, from M. Bédier's *Lai de l'Ombre*, 1913, p. xlv. Rarely does M. Bédier's courage fail; at vs. 2300, in deference to the assonance, he does eliminate the *byse* of O, and substitute *brune* from V⁴; but in this case—such are the fathomless pitfalls of text-editing—it may be possible to keep *byse*, forms of this adjective in (u) or (ui), as I shall try to show elsewhere, being justified by its derivation from Lat. *buteo*, and by other evidence.

² Altho he frequently utilizes the readings of V⁴, M. Bédier speaks at times as though this MS did not exist: “Un manuscrit célèbre, le manuscrit 23 du fonds Digby . . . nous a seul conservé ce poème en 4002 vers. . . . La copie d'Oxford est unique, elle est notre seul bien tangible, réel.” *Avant-Propos*, pp. i and xi. Plainly speaking, this is a serious exaggeration, misleading in its effect. The reader has only to compare the passages quoted above, vss. 2926 ff. of O, and vss. 3110–12 of V⁴, to perceive that M. Bédier cannot really mean what he says.

at times disregarded Bartsch's law, and (2) this verse is surely an echo of verses 543, 556, where the same expression, *recreant d'osteier*, is found. To substitute, even from V⁴, an infinitive in *-er* would be to "disturb the delicate mechanism of the *laisses similaires*." The argument is at first sight persuasive, but it overlooks other important facts. Thus, at verse 906, the poet varies his formula: it becomes *recreant de guerre mener*. Cf. also verse 1058:

Jol vos plevis, tuit sont jugiét a mort.

And verse 1069:

Jol vos plevis, tuit sont a mort livrét.

These two verses prove two important things: first, that the poet did not necessarily use identical formulae; second, that he differentiated (*ié*) from (*é*), else he would infallibly have used *jugét*, in verse 1069, as the "echo" to verse 1058. Suppose now that, instead of *livrét*, the Oxford MS had actually read *jugét*, an admissible *é*-assonance according to M. Bédier; suppose, too, that an editor, convinced by a careful study of the assonances that (*ié*) with (*é*) is inadmissible (as it was for the *Alexis*, for Wace, Marie, and Garnier¹), had substituted for a line elsewhere in the poem, or from V⁴, or from the β -redaction, a word in *-ét* like *livrét*, such an editor would have incurred M. Bédier's deep displeasure. The emended verse with *livrét* would have been a "vers corrigé à tort," a "vers abîmé," a "leçon frappée de suspicion." But *livrét*, as it happens, is an absolutely correct reading, "correct" in the sense that it has good MS support, and that it fits the sense and the assonance perfectly. Almost 98 per cent of the assonances in (*ié*) and (*é*) in the *Roland* are unmixed and entirely normal; there is a very strong presumption that the twenty cases of violation are all due to faulty transmission in Anglo-Norman environments. At verse 1681, the copyist spoiled the assonance by using the form *chapler* in place of its synonym *chapeier*; to supply the needed syllable, he introduced a superfluous conjunction (*e=et*). But *chapeier* certainly belongs to the poet's vocabulary; he uses it at verse 3462 and, as it happens, in (*ei*) assonance. Moreover, the *-ier* reading is confirmed by V⁴ 1782: *De lor spee ferir & caploier*, and by other MSS of the β -redaction. The case is a duplicate of that in verse 2928, discussed above: there can be no reasonable doubt, *chapeier* is the original, the correct reading, it is the form used by the poet.

It may well be that in the case of verse 528 the riddle is solved by the entirely different reading of V⁴: *Ad Ais en France se devrait reposer* (for V⁴, "par malheur," as M. Bédier is fond of saying, offers us a verb in *-er* and not one in *-ier*); in any case, nothing whatever is gained by denying or ignoring the well-established principle that defective meter and irregular rhymes often warn us of spurious readings, and sometimes lead us to the

¹ The one case of mixture in Garnier (vs. 2623), of which so much has been made, must disappear: the poet's *beste fere* is merely a reproduction of the *fera . . . bestia* of *Gen.* xxxvii:33. It is a Latinism, like *mole*, vs. 3363.

recovery of valuable authentic readings. It is the fallible copyists, they who respected their text far less than we do, who have "sacrificed" the poet's work of art; to circumvent their heedlessness and ignorance, not to perpetuate it, is the legitimate task of those who are trained for that important work.

T. A. JENKINS

A Study of the Thaïs Legend with Special Reference to Hrotsvitha's Paphnutius. By OSWALD ROBERT KUEHNE. Doctorate dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1922.

On reading this study by Dr. Kuehne one is impressed with the great possibilities in certain aspects of the subject chosen, the intrinsic interest of the material assembled, and the lack of organization, centralization, and critical evaluation of subject-matter. As the author states in his Preface, his aim is to trace the legend of Thaïs from its obscure beginnings to the present. Thus he opens with some remarks concerning the discovery in 1900 in Lower Egypt of a mummy and its possible relations to this legend, follows this in turn with a chronological account of the Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic versions of the legend down to Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum*, with a brief discussion as to the place and significance of Hrotsvitha in her period, with an English translation of *Paphnutius*, with a record of the legend in medieval France, and closes with a summary of the modern versions.

In the space allotted to this review I shall comment briefly on each of the features mentioned in the opening sentence.

Hrotsvitha and *Paphnutius*, as the author indicates in his title, should receive the main emphasis in this study. Immediately one sees in this possibilities of illustrating the point of view of modern scholarship toward significant medieval materials. Hrotsvitha is no longer to be considered an exotic flower blooming in the morass of the Dark Ages but one—and only one—expression of the rich, cultural life of the tenth century. Gandersheim, the monastery in which she lived, was geographically in the center of Saxon culture, surrounded as it was by Hildesheim, Mayence, and Cologne. And the Saxon court of the Ottos, with Bruno of Cologne, the scholar and humanist, as the guiding influence, was at that time the center of the culture of Western civilization. Let the relation to the Ottos I, II, III of Gerbert of Aurillac, long head of the famous school at Rheims, and later Pope Sylvester II, testify in part to this fact. Dr. Kuehne does show in an excellently summarized paragraph that under Otto I (936–73) Hrotsvitha (circa 950–68) lived in a well governed and well protected kingdom and that the court of Otto I was a cultural center. But we wish he had emphasized the continuity of culture as carried on in the monasteries and cathedral schools over all Europe during the second half of the tenth century and had stressed more the fact that Hrotsvitha merely gave normal literary expression of herself under the inspiration

of the Saxon renaissance. In this connection, he is surely misleading to the reader and fails to do himself, Hrotsvitha, or the period justice when at the beginning of the paragraph he states that (p. 47) "With the perversity of her sex (Hrotsvitha) flatly contradicted all generally accepted notions of the period and produced literary gems at a time when most of Western Europe was struggling to prevent the total extinction of the torch of Occidental civilization."

Again, a study of the rich legend of Thaïs in its relations has intrinsic interest. The differences in the treatment of the legend by Hrotsvitha and by Anatole France suggest unusual possibilities for a comparative study of medievalism and modernism as illustrated by these authors. This Dr. Kuehne only hints at in his brief comments.

Relative to the organization and evaluation of the material one would welcome, in addition to the comparative study I have just suggested, the English translation of Hrotsvitha's *Paphnutius*, with a parallel text in the original of the Winterfeld edition, which is practically inaccessible to the average student, and with the interesting material of the author's present survey as a critical introduction. In a word, I assume as a modern conception of a doctoral dissertation that it should have a centralizing thesis of some philological or more widely cultural interest. In this study, with rare exceptions, the material is merely strung together on the tenuous thread of chronological sequence.

The most commendable part of the study is the author's translation of *Paphnutius*, which is, on the whole, careful, clear, and workmanlike. But his justification of the translation on the ground that Hrotsvitha's "was the first purely literary use made of the legend" (p. 6) is beside the mark. In the first place, her purpose was as essentially religious as that of any of the earlier churchmen who made their individual contributions to the legend. Furthermore, it seems to the reviewer that we shall clear the way for the proper interpretation of all saints' legends if we consider them as *romances* of the Church, and thus in the category of *literature*.

GEORGE R. COFFMAN

GRINNELL COLLEGE

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THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS IN HERDER'S THOUGHT. V—*Continued*

"Natural Science:" Physiology

Leibniz' arrangement of his hierarchy of monads in a series of infinitesimal calculus was the formal, mathematico-metaphysical expression of an empirical conception which had risen about his time, and was destined to make over the foundations of all ideas of reality. This was the conception of physical organism, which included, as its formal parts, the inductive method of thought and the criteria of mechanism and quantity as primary tests of reality. Bacon was the herald of the logical method of this movement. But the naturalists since the middle of the seventeenth century and the throng of scientists and scientifically trained physicians of the eighteenth century discovered an ever-increasing mass of exact knowledge and refined the methods of induction to a relatively high degree of subtleness and precision.

In all the theories so far discussed, the primary factor of reality, whether cast in the form of Reason, or sense, or monad, or individuality, appears as a definite absolute, or at least as a principle requiring no particular premises. The growth of the natural sciences, and especially the influence of physiology of the nervous system upon the conception of the human "soul," brought a fundamental change. It laid the grounds for the realization—which made its way very slowly indeed—that each individual as an organic unit, must be physi-

ologically, i.e., at least in part mechanistically, conditioned. This development gradually modified the focus in which the relations between spontaneity and its opposite, the name of which now changed from Descartes' "automatism" to "mechanism," were to be viewed. It also led the psychologists to understand that individuality, considered now as a genetic product rather than as an absolute creation, an organic unit rather than a dialectic totality, could be primary with relation to all its functions and yet physiologically premised; in other words, that a monad could after all have "windows" both intellectual and physiological, and yet be an integral "Kraft."

Rationalistic generalizations are absolute; they are dogmas. The generalizations of inductive science are specific or relative. The units of science are primary only in as far as demonstrated; different only in as far as differentiated by proof; identical only in as far as identified: scientific entities are not absolute totalities but only the sums of demonstrated characters. To the scientist, experimental evidence of invariable connection between specific physical processes and mental phenomena is sufficient but never absolute proof of the unity of the two events, i.e., proof, sufficient within empirical reality, "quoad hoc," but supporting no absolute premise or generalization.

However, the true limits of scientific hypothesis were in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rarely, if strictly ever, observed by the scientist. They are even to this day unreal to almost all but the scientists. "Hypothesis" means to most, even educated, people, a more or less haphazard and wilful guess, whereas in truth it is the acknowledgment of the limits of knowledge essential to the human mind. Hypothesis is knowledge; the highest degree of knowledge possible. Any assertion exceeding the scope and validity of hypothesis is dogma, doctrine, faith. It may be true, with the truth of immovable and sincere inward conviction, but it is not true as knowledge.

The most influential authority in the new scientific discoveries of the relations between soul and body, spontaneity and mechanism, was the Dutch physiologist Boerhaave, who taught in Leyden. He was the teacher of de la Mettrie and Haller, who both had signal parts in the development of eighteenth-century psychology. Boerhaave

specialized in investigations of reflex movements, a subject suggested by Descartes, to whom the relation between "automatism" and the *lumen naturale* was of fundamental concern. A follower of Spinoza, he had originally regarded the soul as the "idea" of the body, exactly "corresponding" to it, but in no wise identical with it, since, being mind, it was essentially different from body. But under the increasing weight of his evidence he inclined gradually toward the materialistic doctrine of the mechanistic determination of the soul.

During Boerhaave's lifetime (1668-1738) there appeared two important materialistic utterances. Pancratius Wolff published, in 1697, his *Cogitationes Medico-Legales*, in which he maintained the thesis that ideas are the products of the mechanical processes of the human body. In 1713 appeared anonymously the very interesting *Briefwechsel vom Wesen der Seele*, in which under the pretext of refutation, the author presents in great fulness all the principal arguments of the materialistic doctrine.¹

The most interesting and literary representative of the materialistic psychology in the eighteenth century is de la Mettrie, the author of the *Natural History of the Soul and Man, a Machine*. Making short work of all the intermediate systems of reality, including all dualistic doctrines, he simplifies at the outset² his problem: "Je réduis," he says, "à deux les systèmes des philosophes sur l'âme de l'homme. Le premier, et le plus ancien, est le système du matérialisme; le second est celui du spiritualisme." In the subsequent argument he exhausts the fundamental arguments of mechanistic monism. The other principal materialists are Dietrich von Holbach (*Système de la nature*) and Helvetius (*De l'esprit*). The great influence of the materialistic theory can be judged by the effect it had on Diderot. Diderot, originally a follower of Locke and Shaftesbury, was gradually drawn into the current of materialistic thought represented by his fellows of the Encyclopedia. He took part even in the composition of the *Système de la nature*, the baldest as well as the most comprehensive statement of eighteenth-century materialism.

¹ See Windelband, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

² *L'homme machine*. A Leyde. MDCCXLVIII. Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1912.

Later Associationism

The empirical perceptualism of Locke culminated in the eighteenth century. It was in its origin theoretically distinct from the physiological hypothesis of the scientific movement and of the materialistic doctrine. Locke limited himself principally to observation and classification of associative processes of sense perception, as given. At his time, physical science, especially physiology and neurology, were still at the threshold of their phenomenal development. His followers, however, exposed to the unceasing acceleration and expansion of scientific discovery, and to the steady rise of the mechanistic hypothesis, fortified by a rapid improvement in the technique of inductive demonstration, moved steadily, with the notable exception of the Scotch School of Moralists, or as de la Mettrie called that school of philosophy, the "spiritualists," in the direction of materialism.

Associationism in England reached its height in Hartley and Priestly. More cautious in formulation than Pancratius Wolff and the anonymous author of the *Briefwechsel vom Wesen der Seele*, the English writers yet came gradually to the interpretation of psychology as physiology of the nerves.

It was in Condillac's *Traité des sensations*, however, that associationism achieved the technique and the theoretic construction which gave it the dominant influence in the thought of the latter part of the eighteenth century. Condillac was both less absolutistic and more radical than the English associationists. Consistently positivistic, he rejected the relevance of any speculations regarding the principle of spontaneity. Whatever the soul is, the operations of consciousness arise exclusively from the senses. Even the formal ideas of relation, which since Locke had been set apart as the specific functions of spontaneity (soul, reason), were by Condillac interpreted as the automatic products of the succession of sensations. He illustrated his theory by the famous parable of Pygmalion, in which he described the associationistic steps in which a statue is brought to full human life.

The effect of this parable was sensational. A great number of followers proceeded to attempt a complete "analysis of the human mind." Associationistic analysis of the mind as the foundation of all knowledge was the "Ideology" which determined the philosophical

thought of the French revolutionary government. The term acquired such prestige that in the eighteenth century in France it became the general designation of all systematic philosophy.

3. THE THEORY OF "GEFÜHL" AS THE PRIMARY FACTOR OF REALITY *Sensibilism, Mysticism*

The culmination of the theory of *Gefühl* in the eighteenth century came as all epochs do, with great suddenness. But the preparatory stages cover a long period of time and exhibit a great variety of phases. The aesthetical and ethical interest in nature, which had been developing in England, France, and Germany since the beginning of the eighteenth century, had for its principal object direct, individual and authentic contact with the universal source of life. The increasing attention, given in the literature of the age, to the emotions, experiences, and fates of human beings as individuals rather than as representatives of privileged classes, had both revealed and increased the range and power of the personalistic view of life. The first stirrings of democracy or egalitarianism; the beginnings of the rebellion of individualism against the long rule of dogmatic and official authoritarianism; the uprisings of spontaneous emotional and imaginative impulses against the rigid traditional order; the revolt of the gifted, the original, the unregimented, and the incompletely rubricated against the tyranny, the formalism, the externalization and quantification of values, the inertia and immobility of the commonplace; against the unindividual, the meanly utilitarian, the uninspired—these and many more expressions characteristic of every historical resurgence of the personalistic-individualistic against the formalistic-universalistic impulses were among the more conspicuous social, political, and individual indications of the general change of the environment, which was to bring forth the new epoch.

In the scientific and philosophical generalizations of this time of preparation also there are to be found some of the roots of the characteristic intention of the coming Age. In Locke's expressed theory, and to an even greater degree in the inherent logic of his assumption of the primacy of concrete sense perception, there lay imbedded elements of the theory of the primacy of individuality. In concrete

reality, the individual is the primary datum, the given *prima facie* evidence of life. Perceptualism is related to individualism.

Leibniz, like Locke, made less "a school" than a movement. His principle of dynamic integral personality provided the rebellious individualism of the Germanic world with its fundamental conception. Baumgarten, the founder of modern "Aesthetics," made Leibniz' conception of the monad the principle of beauty. Bodmer and Breitinger translated Leibniz' abstract term into the concrete and fertile term *Naturwüchsigkeit*, native or original personality, the ideal of the "folk-man." They introduced this idea into their conflict with the aesthetic doctrines of Rationalism, represented at the time by Gottsched. The latter part of the conflict was taken up by Lessing.

Next to Leibniz, Shaftesbury, his junior contemporary, originated the most important movement of ideas, by which the conception of integral spontaneous personality was to be enriched and developed. The "enthusiastic" system, based on his philosophy,¹ had a profound influence on Herder. Though deeply rooted in the British rationalistic tradition, it gave an emphatic place to enthusiasm and sympathy, and to the generous emotions generally, among the factors which are decisive in determining and developing right judgment, and stand therefore in a primary relation to truth. It set up the man of the world rather than the philosopher, i.e., the man of practical and synthetic rather than of ratiocinative analytic judgment, as the arbiter and standard of reality and value. Shaftesbury preferred vision, expert taste, and experience to formal logic. He assumed the integral unity of individuality and insisted on the duty of each to live to the full extent of his powers.

With Shaftesbury there began in England a rapid development of the theory of "feeling." This theory reached its climax first in Aesthetics. It was embodied in the characteristic conception of the "genius," which found its first extreme expression in Edward Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition*. "Genius," in this view, is the product of an integral union of all the powers of man in total

¹ Shaftesbury's *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times* appeared in 1711, three years before Leibniz' *Monadology*. Leibniz' *New Essays* were not published till 1765, thirty-nine years after Leibniz' death. But the principles of the latter's philosophy antedate Shaftesbury's ideas. Leibniz' *De Principio Individui* had appeared in 1663. Leibniz represents an earlier, more logistic, type of Individualism.

spontaneous impulse. Only those who have this integral unity, who in every act naïvely follow the impulse of the totality of their natures, who have the active vision of the *zusammenbrennende, zusammen-treffende Ganze*,¹ who bring, without premeditation, without conscious analytic effort, their entire natures to bear upon every act; only these individualities, endowed with a completely integrated spontaneity, are "geniuses."²

This theory was partly derived from Shaftesbury's totalistic conception of the foundations and processes of judgment characteristic of his ideal man. But Shaftesbury's ideal man was an aristocrat, both by virtue of social privilege and advantage and by the divine right of private individuality. Young's ideal shifts the stress to the latter.

The idea involved in the identification of individuality with a principle of *Gefühl* conceived as an inner totality acting always immediately and integrally, i.e., the belief in the identity of the emotional-imaginative part of life with personality; and the corresponding exclusion of "reason," identified, by Rationalism, falsely enough, with formal logic, from the seat of spontaneity—this new formalistic dualism, pointed, however, much farther than even the extreme conceptions of Young.

The totalistic conception of "feeling" contained an absolutistic tendency. It involved an ideal of an inner harmony, a primary state of perfection, compared to which all external motives were debasements and corruptions of native integrity. Native, naïve impulse alone was regarded as the true expression of this integrity. The doctrine of original sin was turned into the doctrine of original righteousness. Anything that makes man self-conscious, sophisticated, analytic, critical; anything that sets one part of his nature against another; anything that interferes with the direct processes of his naïve impulse; convention, tradition, institutions, social regulations and conformity, learning and training of any kind: any modification of his primal integrity is a violation of his humanity.

¹ Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Bk. I, chap., 14.

² In aesthetic theory this identification of "Gefühl" with the creative principle of "genius" was first systematically elaborated by Home. See concerning him and others, the first chapter of this essay, *Modern Philology*, June 1920, pp. 70 ff., and Malcolm Dewey: *Herder's Relation to the Aesthetic Theory of His Time*, University of Chicago dissertation, 1920 (University of Chicago Libraries), especially pp. 9 ff., 109 ff.

This ideal attached itself to the general democratic tendency of the age. The result was Rousseau's myth of the "natural man." Simplicity and naïveté, primary perfection of being, were interpreted in terms of nature conceived as the symbol of the primary realities of life. The plain people, the poor, all those who worked the soil and lived close to it, who had had the least contact with the forms, ideas, and forces of historical civilization, seemed to be more truly modeled after the true intention of the Creator. They held the key to the true secret of life; they bore the true impress of the goodness, beauty, and happiness which were the soul of "nature." Spontaneity and total absence of sophistication; naïveté and total ignorance; integrity and total unconsciousness of self, became synonymous. This was the essence of the "Naturalism" of the eighteenth century.

The two opposing principles, rationalism and "feeling," were personified in two fundamental types of personality, the *Verstandes-mensch* and the *Gefühlsmensch*. Herder, critically, and Goethe, creatively, gave to these two symbolic characters their final, historic forms.

Animism

Eighteenth-century Naturalism, the conception of the inward totality of being as integral feeling, had fundamental animistic bearings. It developed a number of important relations to the principal types of nature animism which had risen since the Renaissance. In its most abstract and spiritualistic forms it endeavored, though unsuccessfully, to absorb, in a Romantic version of a theosophic spiritualization of the universe, the principle of religious mysticism.

The earliest and crudest form of nature animism was the belief in elemental spirits. The ideas of Paracelsus were the least absurd expression of this, the early magical phase. They have retained a certain importance in the history of literature through their incorporation in the early part of Goethe's *Faust*.

Giordano Bruno gave to early philosophic animism its most heroic expression, characteristic of the largeness of his truly Renaissance mind, in his vision of the divine unity of the universe, the cosmic personification symbolized in the macrocosm.

In the eighteenth century nature animism developed particularly in the scientific mechanistic directions of hylozoism and vitalism.

These two doctrines represented the two principal ways in which the natural-scientists of the eighteenth century interpreted the relations between spontaneity and mechanism.

Both doctrines assume the organic but not the essential unity of spontaneity and mechanism. In their functions these two principles are one, but essentially they are, in the views of the scientists, with the exception of the materialists, dual. Both hylozoism and vitalism have therefore an important bond in common with Rationalism. But—and here lies the essential difference—by virtue of their assumption of the organic unity of the two opposite principles, hylozoists and vitalists found themselves forced to subordinate the one or the other within the scope of their hypothesis of the organic, empirical unity. The hylozoists subordinated spontaneity, the vitalists, matter. Hylozoism could not maintain its position long. The absurdity of an assumption of absolute spontaneity whose initiative is in every demonstrable case determined by mechanism, is manifest. Hylozoism was no more than a brief pause on the way to materialism, or mechanistic monism.

Vitalism,¹ the scientific supposition of the primacy of spontaneity in its mechanistic relation, the assumption of a primary life force or soul manipulating the mechanism of nature as its instrument, might at first sight appear, analogously to hylozoism, as a way station in the opposite direction of a spontaneistic, or spiritualistic, or "subjectivistic," monism. But vitalism is in a fundamental respect not analogous to hylozoism. The analysis of this difference reveals one of the most interesting, profound, and complicated aspects of eighteenth-century psychology

The belief in an immaterial soul, in an absolute, primary, spontaneous, autonomous, essence within each human being lies at the roots not only of the Christian, but of all the great religions of history, and therefore of the ideas of all civilized persons.

Vitalism, translated into theological terms, is one of the fundamental articles of the orthodox Christian creed. The conflict between the Manichaeans, who asserted that the principle of Evil is co-ordi-

¹ Bonnet, the French scientist-philosopher, was the most eminent representative of early Vitalism in the eighteenth century. The later development of vitalism, throughout the nineteenth century, which began with Lamarck (*Philosophie zoologique*, 1809), does not concern us here.

nate with that of Good, i.e., that both the material and the spiritual parts of life are absolute and equally primary; and the orthodox church, which construed the principle of Evil as subordinate to that of Good, ended in the conclusive triumph of the latter. Augustine, who himself was for a long time inwardly divided by this conflict, gives in his "Confessions" an authoritative account of that victory both within himself and within the church.

A qualified dualism of matter and spirit became fixed as the orthodox doctrine. Absorption of the subordinate principle of matter in a vitalistic or spiritualistic monism would have been a heresy of the gravest character.

All the naturalistic-animistic ideas were combined with the theory of "feeling" in the naturalism of Rousseau, and after him, and with modifications, of Hamann. Both these men were strict adherents of orthodox Christianity, the one, Catholic, the other, Lutheran. To both, the qualified dualism of vitalism must have represented the temporal form of the orthodox doctrine of the spirit and the flesh. They were no less opposed to animistic or "subjective" monism, of which Romanticism became the typical exponent, than to mechanistic monism. The customary identification of Rousseau with the Romantic movement rests on a confusion of fundamental ideas.

Mysticism

The eighteenth-century doctrine of "feeling" was no new principle. Indeed, in the perspective of the ages it dwindles to a variant of an immemorial conception of reality, namely, religious mysticism. The impulse to combine all experience, both temporal and religious, into an absolute integral divine unity of inner realization, which lies at the foundation of all religious mysticism, had attained its profoundest modern development in the Christian mysticism of the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. In the history of the German mind, Meister Eckhardt, Johannes Tauler, by whose teaching Luther was influenced, and Jakob Boehme, were perhaps the most profound and characteristic representatives of this mysticism in its speculative form. In its practical form, the principle of mystical integration in the spirit of God, was embodied in the many pietistic

movements of the age, such as that of the Halle Pietists, led by Francke, of the Herrnhuter, and many others.

Religious mysticism is the theory of *Gefühl* applied to First and Last Things. But there is an essential opposition between true religious mysticism and the eighteenth-century doctrine of *Gefühl*. Religious mysticism is the extreme opposite of individualism. It aims at the complete absorption of the individual into the divine Being. It desires to lose life in order to win life. Its idea of participation in the divine self is unconditional surrender of the individual self. The eighteenth-century doctrine of "feeling," on the contrary, was primarily individualistic. It saw in the identification of the individual with the divine "spirit" above all the consummation, the final realization of the former. It did not desire to lose individual life but infinitely to extend and sublimite it. It sought the universal divinity of the Ego. It lacked the fundamental characteristic of religion.

True mysticism, however, had a fundamental, though obscure and unacknowledged element in common also with sense-ism. It was, in fact, a primary type of sense-ism, though in a form so abstract that identification is sometimes difficult. The cognitive process, the way of knowledge, of mysticism, is ecstatic realization, concentration upon extremely abstract perceptual states, in which visual, auditory, tactual and the other sense reactions are combined into a unity so intense as to appear as absolutely single and independent of all empirical, "temporal," sources. The ecstatic vision, the "beatitudes," the mystical rapture, the glory of transfiguration, are sublimations of states of sensibility. The extreme forms of mysticism represent a degree of abstraction in which the three dimensions of the higher types of sense perception are reduced to a single dimension of inner intensity. Mysticism identifies "truth" with a maximum of inward emotional tension. Its "vision" is an abstract form of sensibility in which the seer is lost in the seen, the eye in the image, the subject in the object—the individual in the divine spirit.

But Mysticism, being an absolutism, has a formal element in common also with Rationalism. To the absolute "reason" of the latter, there corresponds the absolute "feeling" in the former; to the subordination of individuality to reason, the spiritual absorption

of the individual in God. The inevitable and interesting historical consequence of this formal identity of the two opposite principles was that, when Rationalism, in its final phase of Kant's "Pure Reason" failed to satisfy the demands of the age for concrete and specific content and individual spontaneity, it tipped over, so to speak, into a doctrine of "Pure Feeling," made up of a combination of mysticism with naturalistic individualism, which believed itself the final historic synthesis of absolute knowledge, absolute perfection of sensation and sensibility, and absolute mystical realization. This was the doctrine of Romanticism.

Romanticism

Romanticism was a false synthesis of two movements of ideas. Some of the Romanticists had been in contact with Pietism. Novalis was a Herrnhuter. But Romanticism was much more concerned with individualism, and particularly with that part of individual life which is expressed in the most varied and intense activities and developments of sense perception and inner sensibility. In the theoretic conflict between "reason" and "feeling," universality and individuality, formal logic and spontaneity of impulse, it ranged itself at the extreme wing of the adversaries of Rationalism.

Romanticism sought, indeed, like Mysticism, an escape from objective reality; but the character of its reaction against its environment, social, political, intellectual, was the opposite of that of Christian Mysticism. It was egocentric; Christian Mysticism was theocentric. In Romantic mysticism, individualism is primary, and even in the most abstract attempts to transcend this private basis, as, for instance, in the system of Schelling, the Romantic motive of mundane individuality, the essentially temporal animus, the self-assertive rather than the devotional bent, remains predominant.

The result of the Romantic combination of naturalistic individualism with Christian Mysticism, especially that of Jakob Boehme, was a debased compromise, producing the theory of absolute transcendental Egoism.

Absolute individuality, sublimated into the exclusive principle of spontaneity, functioning in totalistic unity of *Gefühl*, and transcending all ratiocinative consciousness or formal logic, is the essence of the philosophy of German Romanticism. *Gefühl ist Alles*, as the watch-

word of the theory of feeling, had originally expressed, and does for instance in *Faust* express, a particular preference rather than a universal absolute. When it was adopted by Romanticism, it was turned into a theoretic assertion of a transcendental principle of singularity.

4. "AUFKLÄRUNG"

Beside these fundamental movements of ideas, there was an abounding nondescript state of mind usually named the *Aufklärung*. This name designated the superficial eclecticism of the more expressive ones among the popular minds, who gathered from all the different systems the more obvious ideas which coincided with their natural inclinations. They took over the more obvious forms of the syllogism, the ready self-confidence of sense-ism, the agreeable reliance on one's "feelings," impulses and "intuitions," as immediate sources of truth, and on faith as the final arbiter of any remaining perplexities. This rule of mental mediocrity received a peculiar prestige from Christian Wolff, last of the older school of Rationalism, the systematizer of Leibniz, an honorable and sincere man of considerable mental endowments, who yet opened the door to a particularly harmful sort of glib and smug intellectual inferiority. By combining the rationalistic method of the syllogism with Leibniz's principle of the absolute primacy of the monad in relation to reality, he thought he had discovered the theoretic way out of the dilemma of the relation of absolute reason to empirical reality. If, according to Leibniz, the monad contains the essence of the universe within it, then its mind must partake of this universe and consequently, its mental processes, if clear and distinct, i.e., in agreement with the laws of the syllogism, must lead directly to the truth. This conclusion is irrefutable on the principles of the philosophy of Leibniz. It represents the historic case of *reductio ad absurdum* of the rationalistic conception of individuality.

The result was the belief that nothing could be real except that which could be proved by the syllogistic method and that all that could be so proved must be true, whatever the demonstrable evidence. A blind and arrogant faith in any form of shallow logic-chopping and ignorant contempt for specific knowledge resulted from this belief. Coupled with the meanly utilitarian preoccupation of a generation

intensely poor and government-ridden, an intellectual mediocrity of a most platitudinous type imposed itself on the life of a generation.

Any impression, perception, feeling, notion, sentiment, wish; any judgment, ethical, aesthetical or cognitive, any attitude of mind, no matter how temporary, shallow, fallacious, foolish, ignorant, was immediately, by being cast in the forms of ratiocination, identified with "Reason," and raised to the status of the absolute, the universal, the metaphysical. By this confusion of an "absolute" reason with concrete ways of reasoning, inherent in the Rationalistic absolutism, every trace of separation between the empirical or demonstrable, the metaphysical or speculative, and the spiritual or religious spheres of reality was removed. All three were continuous and one. Commonplace was all.

It required the efforts of both Kant and Herder to cure the world of this intellectual reversion. The two great thinkers approached the problem from opposite poles. Kant, the rationalist, and essentially Cartesianist, proceeded deductively from the assumption of a supreme absolute, i.e., "pure" reason. He concluded that such an "absolute" reason could, according to hypothesis, be constituted of nothing except the "pure forms," or primary principles, of deductive logic. It could not operate directly upon empirical reality. Empirical reality appeared as a logical impurity, a secondary and fragmentary form of reality. The transcendental withdrawnness of the absolute reality, the "thing in itself," the objective "substratum" of all empirical reality, was conceived by Kant therefore not as an argument against the transcendental reality and primacy of the "Pure Reason," but as absolute evidence of the inadequacy inherent in empirical and concrete reality as conceived by Rationalism.

The true historical import of Kant's critique was, however, the opposite of his own inferences. Kant believed that he had said the final word concerning the limitations of all possible knowledge. But really he had said the final word regarding the limitations of the Rationalistic, and his own, conception of knowledge. He was truly the unsuspecting Sampson of Rationalism. By proving that "Pure Reason" can have none except a purely verbal or formal content,

(*Ding an sich*), he convinced those who determined the major historical course of ideas, notwithstanding his own scholastic followers, that "Pure Reason" is not the primary source and standard of reality.

Herder

Herder united all these main currents of ideas into an original synthetic conception of the primacy of the genetic individuality. This idea is the source of modern humanism.

A historic conception is a conclusive and comprehensive unity of perspective. The superiority of Herder's perspective over all the others lies chiefly in his ability to analyze more clearly and comprehensively the idea of "spontaneity," which had gradually, though in many confused forms, begun to emerge as the more puzzling of the two first principles of reality.

Mechanism, the other principle, though it retained, even in physical science, many unanalyzed and unsuspected mythological elements, had been brought, at least in precept, definitively to the test of demonstration. But spontaneity had apparently never suggested even the possibility of any specific analysis. To the Rationalists, even to Kant, it was the undefined active principle of formal logic, a purely verbal *prima causa*. To the followers of Locke, it was chiefly the something alive, the mystical soul-stuff, that prompted the senses to act as an "inlet," by which the unknown world "out there" could, as "idea," or perception, enter into the world "in here." In addition, Locke retained the Rationalistic form of spontaneity within the greatly restricted scope of his "light of nature."

To all, spontaneity appeared vaguely as something immaterial, like the soul, its "locus." Even to the materialists, the denial of the immateriality of the principle of spontaneity involved the denial of the principle itself.

Herder also identified spontaneity with immateriality. To this extent he accepted the general vitalism characteristic of modern philosophy. The epoch-making importance and originality of his work lie in two principal characters of the perspective in which he placed this idea. The first of these was the combination of all the genetic processes of physical nature, including particularly the physi-

ological functions, with all the processes of history, into a conception of organic unity of mechanism and spontaneity, the complete, primary, active unit of which is the individual. Organic individuality was his primary unit of spontaneity. All reality was primarily the total function of this organic unity of soul and machine. This principle may be expressed as that of the specific functional relativity of spontaneity and mechanism. It represents the application of Herder's fundamental logical principle of specific relativity, first elaborated in his aesthetic essays, especially the first *Wäldchen*, to the transformation of formal into functional psychology. By changing the traditional conception of a merely formal into that of a functional unity of the mind, and by substantiating his conclusions with comprehensive and specific material drawn from practically all the fields of science, Herder produced the first important outline of modern psychology.

The second of Herder's primary distinctions concerns the conceptions of knowledge and faith. He realized that the substitution of his principle of organic personality for all the other substantive principles of reality, had made necessary a corresponding, and therefore correspondingly new, formal principle, a germane logical focus of reference. This formal principle, as it emerged from his analysis of the specific differences of knowledge and faith, revealed certain affinities between faith and spontaneity, and furnished further criteria for analysis of the latter.

By these two distinctions Herder succeeded in penetrating beyond the confusion of the ideas of his age to a deeper common ground on which some of the chief discords could be harmonized.

Knowledge and Faith

No conclusion is true knowledge, unless it be inductive and specific, limited in accordance with assumed principles and demonstrated facts.

Empirical reality, fact, is subject solely to the criteria of knowledge. Faith cannot judge that reality, either positively or negatively. The reality pertaining to faith, on the other hand, belongs solely to the latter's sphere, and is not directly dependent on empirical knowledge and its criteria.

The conception of knowledge as a separate sphere of truth had developed very slowly. The medieval church recognized faith as the sole source of all truth. Temporal knowledge, identified with philosophy, which was dominated, in the earlier period of medieval speculation, exclusively by the logic of Aristotle, in the later, the age of the conflict of "Nominalism" and "Realism," partly—in the camp of "Nominalism"—by the relativism of Aristotle, partly—in the orthodox camp of "Realism"—by the absolutism or metaphysical "realism" of Plato, had no other office except that of a hand-maiden to faith; it had to find logical formulations for the recognized dictates of faith. From this absolute rule of faith there emerged in the later Middle Ages slowly the conception of the incommensurability of the truth of reason with that of faith. This conception, though in principle it retained the postulate of the absolute primacy of faith, practically and surreptitiously was used to fortify the position of demonstrated conclusions against orthodox doctrines which proved unacceptable to minds that stood on the threshold of the modern world.

The logical device of the incommensurability of the two worlds of faith and reason remained, in the improved form, in which it was cast by Descartes and Spinoza, in force on the whole throughout the dominance of modern Rationalism. It gave way gradually, leaving a wake of much confusion, to the growth of the modern conception of knowledge. This began with Bacon's theory of induction and his condemnation of "idols," or preconceived notions. It was further developed by the empiricism of Locke and his epoch. It found its final definition and began its marvelous career of elaboration and refinement of method, which, after nearly three centuries, is not showing any signs of slowing down, in modern physical science.

Herder grasped the modern conception of knowledge. He realized not only that it embraced what the rationalistic philosophers including Kant, regarded as the "empirical," which was to them synonymous with inferior, substratum of the supreme truth of the absolute Reason, but that there was no knowledge whatever which could not support the test of inductive evidence. He subordinated "Reason" to the inductive principles of knowledge. He comprehended, further, what the scientists of his age were prone to ignore,

that the principles of knowledge, being inductive, excluded speculations passing beyond the limits of the hypothetical into the region of the absolute, or dogma. He saw that mechanistic monism, unassailable as a hypothesis, is as a dogma no more supported by knowledge than any religious faith.

He concluded that the conception of knowledge admits of no absolutes, in the form either of reasoned or of believed universals. He was compelled to make a primary distinction between the sphere of knowledge and that of faith.

This distinction involved an element which differentiated it from the medieval theory of the incommensurability of Reason and Faith. The latter theory rested on a formal absolute. It could not relate its two primary terms any further. Herder's conception, on the contrary, in accordance with his inductive method, was not bound by the rationalistic identity of logical distinction with substantial difference. While knowledge and faith are terminologically absolute opposites, they are, in knowledge, both primary functions of organic individuality and so internally interrelated, as well as externally conditioned by all the data of physiological and cultural environment.

The principles of knowledge must dominate all our conclusions within the sphere of demonstrable data, both mechanistic and spontaneistic. Only the undemonstrable is subject to faith. The sphere of faith, while it is formally absolutely disparate from that of knowledge, is yet a reality as substantial as that demonstrated by the processes of knowledge. Faith is really a form of truth, but not of knowledge.

Neither knowledge nor faith is alone the first principle of reality. They presuppose a deeper unity. This is called by Herder, "Dasein." Herder's philosophy is the most comprehensive form of Positivism.

Herder is the founder of modern psychology. Even in the light of the enormous increase and precision of modern knowledge, his principles require few modifications even now. Their chief shortcoming lies in a certain remnant of vitalistic-intellectualistic bias in the borderland of ideas joining demonstrable to believable reality. He inclined on the whole, partly no doubt under the pressure of theological habits, but partly, following his strongly creative imagina-

tive nature, in doubtful cases to put the burden of the proof on the mechanistic rather than the spontaneistic conception, permitting, to this extent, his conception of the sphere of faith to cast its shadow upon that of knowledge.

Little harm was done by this, however. In all decisive cases, he, the faithful Lutheran minister, barred faith from any attempt to impose itself on knowledge.

Herder's Theory in Detail

Herder's conception of the principles of the nature of man reached its theoretic conclusion in three steps, marked, the first, by his fourth *Wäldchen*, 1769, the second, by his prize essay *Über den Ursprung der Sprache*, written toward the end of 1770 and published 1772, and the third, entitled *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele*, the first edition of which appeared in 1774, the second, revised, in 1775, and the final, again revised, in 1778.

The central idea of the first is the unity of the content of the mind, or mind as integral thinking unity. Reason is placed, as it were, wholly within the individual mind, whereas in Rationalism mind is an individual qualification of one universal reason. Herder transforms the intellectual monad of Leibniz in accordance with his conception of specific individuality, which he had established in his first *Wäldchen*. He has not yet comprehensively related the conception of the inner totality of individuality which is based on the theory of *Gefühl*, to that of organic unity, furnished by biological science.

In the essay on the "Origin of Language" Herder passes on to the scientific view of the organism as the primary unit of life. Mind is in empirical reality an organic part of physical nature. Language and mind arise simultaneously at a certain stage of natural development. This stage is not to be accounted for as characterized by the superaddition of some new power to the sum of other powers exhibited in various external combinations in the different animals, but by the appearance of a new type of organism essentially different from all others. The conception of organic unity largely replaces that of inner totality as the principle of individuality.

In the final essay, Herder relates the characters of spontaneity in detail to the results of the physiological investigations of Haller, the leading physiologist of Germany. He now interprets systematically all mental operations as functions of physiological processes. The essay is the first comprehensive draft of physiological psychology. Though Herder retains some elements of the inner totality, assumed in the theory of *Gefühl* he keeps, in the major trend of his argument, within the proper limits of the scientific hypothesis. In this essay he completes the fundamental distinction between knowledge and faith.

In order to acquire a just understanding of Herder's final position, it is necessary to trace his main lines of approach through these three stages.

MARTIN SCHÜTZE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[*To be continued*]

POLITICAL PROPAGANDA AND SATIRE IN *A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM*. II

III. THE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH "A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM" WAS WRITTEN

1. *The date of the play.*—The date which I suggest for the completion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is shortly before midsummer, 1595, and for the following reasons:

a) The account of the Stirling pageant was not printed until after October 24, 1594,¹ and it is unlikely that Shakespeare completed the play without reading this.

b) The weather passage (II, i, 82 ff.) distinctly states that an entire year, naming the four seasons (ll. 107–14), of abnormal weather had passed, beginning with "the middle summer's spring"² (l. 82). There is abundant contemporary evidence to show that worse weather than anyone could remember had prevailed in England from the spring of 1594 to the end of May, 1595.³

c) While it has been observed that the "fair harvest" of 1594 (according to Stowe) does not agree with Shakespeare's allusion to the rotting young corn (ll. 94–95), it has not, I think, been noted that the dearth of 1595–96⁴ bears out Shakespeare's statement and helps to date the play in the spring of 1595.

d) There are apparent allusions to Heywood's *Hercules play*, "The Silver Age," first given by the Lord Admiral's Company,

¹ Cf. p. 66, n. 4, above.

² Midsummer day. Cf. *N.E.D.* under *Spring*.

³ First assembled by Halliwell (*Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream* [1841], pp. 6 ff. and *Memoranda on the Midsummer Night's Dream* [1879], pp. 15 ff.).

In dating the play hitherto, only Halliwell's quotations from Stowe have apparently been used. Turning to the *Annals* themselves, we find the plainest assertion that the abnormal weather lasted until the end of May, 1595 (ed., 1600, p. 1279). For other contemporary allusions to the continued cold and wet weather in April and May, 1595, cf. *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, V, 171 f., 191 f., and 203.

The testimony of the Scotch historian, Robert Johnston, 1567?–1639 (*Hist. Rev. Britannic.* [1655], p. 208) under the year 1595 as to the "continuis Imbribus," and of the corn riots that followed, is independent contemporary testimony.

⁴ Cf. *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, V, 433, under date of October 28, 1595, which shows that the grain crop had failed, and which is confirmed by a poem by Deloney the balladist (*Works* [1912], p. ix), based upon a document issued by Burghley in 1595 (cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 462).

May 7, 1595, and repeated at intervals during the month and later. While these allusions are so casual that they may have been added after the play was finished,¹ they are not likely to have been introduced at all except when the Hercules play was still in the public mind; and they are most likely to have been inserted when it was first played.

All these signs point to midsummer, 1595, as the date by which the play had been completed.²

2. *The relations between Elizabeth and James in 1594-95.*—Between November, 1594, and July, 1595, there was a complete gap in the personal correspondence of Elizabeth and James. When he broke the silence by a letter to her, dated July 8, her reply showed that she had for many months been deeply offended by his behavior.³ Her letter is borne out by numerous evidences in the *State Papers* and Salisbury manuscripts that James was continually dealing with Elizabeth's foes to secure her throne for himself.⁴ In 1594-95, two plots for the Queen's assassination were discovered and their leaders

¹ *A Midsummer Night's Dream* I, ii, 31-32. This is the first use of "tear-cat" quoted in the *N.E.D.*, and may possibly refer to Hercules' combat with the Nemean lion (Heywood, *Works* [ed., 1874], III, 130, 131). In V, i, 44-47 there is apparently another allusion to the play (*op. cit.*, III, pp. 141 ff.); at least, Shakespeare follows Heywood's version in making Hercules, not Theseus, the hero of the battle with the Centaurs. Moreover, the contempt in the lines is comparable to the "tear-cat" of Act I.

² *Midsummer Day?* Malone judged from the title that the play was intended for performance on Midsummer Day (ed., 1821, p. 296, note). The device of suggesting to the audience that they have been dreaming (V, i, 430-35) supports this view. And further, as May Day, which Shakespeare found already in his source (IV, i, 109, 137-39, and I, i, 167), is an equally good time for fairies, why should he have dragged in midsummer at all unless for some reason connected with the performance?

There are other hints that Shakespeare was working on the play immediately after the winter of 1594-95. For one thing, Theseus was the fashion. Whether the Queen's early enthusiasm for the Palamon and Arcite story (cf. Plummer, *Elizabethan Oxford*, index) was responsible we do not know; but the Admiral's Company gave a new play called "Palamon and Arcite," September 17, 1594 (Henslowe, *Diary*, Part II, 168). During the Gray's Inn Revels in 1594-95, on January 2 was given a pageant in which Theseus appeared together with "nymphs and fairies" (Nichols, *op. cit.*, II, "Gesta Grayorum," p. 18). On April 16, 1595, a book otherwise unknown was entered in the *Stationers' Register* under the title, "Raptus Helenæ, Helen's Rape by the Athenian Duke Theseus" (II, 296). This shows that someone else at this time associated the names "Theseus" and "Helenæ." So in choosing the Theseus story for his enveloping plot, Shakespeare was in the fashion.

The supposed allusion to Chute's *Cephalus and Procris*, published in 1595, is perhaps worth noting because it also contains an Oberon; but there is nothing to show that Shakespeare is not referring to Ovid.

³ *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, V, 270 f. and 531 f. Elizabeth's letter is not dated and is not recognized by the editor as a reply to James's; but it meets his letter, point by point, often using his very words, and must have been written with his letter before her.

⁴ *Cal. S.P.Dom.* (1591-94), pp. 161 f., 255 f., 267 f., 302 (2); (1595-97), pp. 26 ff.; *Cal. S.P.Scott.*, II, 676 ff., 682; and cf. *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, IV, 214 ff., 489, 495.

executed.¹ The long expectation that Philip would invade England was intensified by information that came to light in the spring of 1595. In March, an intermediary named Nicholas Williamson, on his way from Spain to Scotland, was captured; and from his examinations, which continued until midsummer and later, it was clear both that he was acquainted with the leaders of the most recent plot for the Queen's assassination and that James was quite ready to join the Queen's enemies at that time.² On May 17, 1595, it was learned through another spy that Philip was planning to enter England through Scotland.³ On June 12, 1595, a long cipher letter was deciphered, which gave information that the Pope was sending James money and that James would turn against the Queen the moment he saw a chance of success.⁴

From these facts it is clear that if ever an attempt could have been made to satirize James and his pretensions before the Queen, the spring of 1595 was the time. Not only so, but at that very time, the Cecils, without whose sanction no such effort could have been made, must have been rankling under an insult offered them by James at Stirling just before the baptism, as appears from a letter from Colville⁵ dated there, August 20, 1594:

It is true that Tho. Fowles has written home to the King very hardly of certain noblemen there;⁶ chiefly of my lord, your honourable Father, of my lord Cumberland and of yourself, which letter the 16 hereof was read before a dozen of persons at Stirling by his Majesty's self. It is ill to be cozened, but it is worse to be mocked.⁷

That the Cecils were good friends to Hertford at this time appears from the fact that they stood by his wife in pleading for him in November, 1595, when his protest against the decision on his marriage was discovered.⁸

¹ Dr. Lopez in 1594; Yorke and Williams, February 10, 1595 (cf. Stowe, *Annals* [ed., 1600], p. 1279).

² Summaries of the Williamson papers fill no less than twenty-six pages of the *Salisbury Calendar*, Vol. V. See index, and especially pp. 242 ff. and 527.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 209.

⁴ Cf. p. 73, n. 3, above.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1595-97, pp. 42 ff.

⁶ At the English court.

⁷ *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, IV, 583. This alone is almost enough to account for the existence of a satire on James. Cf. *Cal. S. P. Scotl.*, II, 668, 669.

⁸ Collins, *Sydney Papers*, I, 369. It was not until 1600 that the correspondence between Robert Cecil and James began.

Again, a long anonymous document in cipher, dated (?) 1600, in setting forth Lord Beauchamp's chances for the throne emphasizes strongly the support his claim had always received from the Cecils. Note especially the following:

This mutual obligation;¹ the inclination of our country to keep out strangers, and particularly an old beggarly enemy, the Scot, in whose mother's blood the whole State seemeth to have washed their hands; the fair color given by some former proceedings in favor of the second sister, since the time of Henry VIII, ratified by his will;² the advantage the Queen's disposition to suppress all titles afforded men in their place [the Cecils'] to advance any title where time served; the opportunity time might minister to prepare for it, prevailing upon the Queen, as she increased in years and diminished in sense, all these might be great motives.³

To this evidence that Burghley advocated Hertford's cause must be added a document of seventy-one pages still among the Salisbury manuscripts, discussing the Suffolk and Stuart claims and deciding in favor of the Suffolk.⁴

Granted that the Cecils had the will and the opportunity to push the cause, would they have used the drama?

IV. POLITICAL USE OF THE DRAMA AND MASQUE

It is not necessary for me to recapitulate here, what research is making continually clearer,⁵ that in the sixteenth century the play and the masque did the work of the modern newspaper in guiding opinion. What the play on the public stage undertook to do with

¹ Between Burghley and the Somerset and Suffolk families.

² Lady Katherine Grey. The word "since" obviously means "ever since," and the allusion is to acts of Parliament which together with the will established the succession in the House of Suffolk.

³ Motives, that is, for supporting this claim (*Cal.S.P.Dom. Addenda* [1580-1625], pp. 406 ff.)

⁴ *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, XIII, 327, apparently undated except by internal evidence placing it before 1587. There are also notes in Burghley's own hand, 1581 (*ibid.*, p. 197), on the Suffolk heirs.

⁵ Mr. Richard Simpson's two articles ("The Political Use of the Stage in Shakespere's Time," and "The Politics of Shakespere's Historical Plays," *New Shakespere Soc.* [1874], pp. 371 ff. and 396 ff.) have been followed by Mr. T. S. Graves's studies (*Mod. Phil.*, IX, 545 ff. and XIV, 525 ff.; *Anglia*, XXXVIII, 137 ff.). Mr. Bond in his edition of Lyly, and M. Feuillerat in his *John Lyly*, 1910, have also made many contributions. Two recent books by Miss Lillian Winstanley, *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession*, 1921, and *Macbeth, King Lear, and Contemporary History*, 1922, while they are based on the sound psychology of attempting to understand an age by its own methods of thought and not by our own, are unfortunately unconvincing because of the author's dependence upon parallelisms inconsistent with one another and her neglect of the problems of motivation.

the people, the masque acted at court attempted to do with royalty itself. That the methods used were both direct propaganda and satire is shown by the evidence; and that the system was closely related to the patronage of dramatic companies by noblemen there is good reason to believe.¹ One example, quoted by Strype from an official document, suggests in itself the use of both propaganda and satire and the association of the practice with the system of patronage as early as 1556. The document is a complaint about the servants of Sir Francis Leke, who "wearing his livery and badge on their sleeves, have wandered about those north parts, and represented certain plays and interludes, containing very naughty and seditious matter touching the King and Queens Majesties, and the state of the realm, and to the slaunder of Christ's true Catholic Church. . . ."²

In the years immediately preceding *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, political allegory on the public stage was a commonplace. This is shown by a comment in 1592 by Nashe, the more valuable in that it is indirect. He fends off "moralizers" who "wrest a never-meant meaning out of everything, applying all things to the present time" and bids them keep their "attention for the common stage"³—where, obviously, they could get results.

The personal use of allegory in court masques is illustrated by a letter from Arthur Throgmorton to Cecil, written in January, 1595, asking leave to present before the Queen his "Masque of the Nine Muses," for the purpose of following it up by a personal plea for some mercy or favor not indicated.⁴ And in every court masque and pageant a hidden political meaning was apt to be suspected.⁵

In writing *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare had before him the example of Lyly, who had introduced political propaganda

¹ For this suggestion I owe thanks to Mr. C. R. Baskervill.

² *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (April 30, 1556), VI, 413 f.

³ *Works* (ed., McKerrow), III, 235. Cf. also *ibid.* (1594), II, 182.

⁴ *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, V, 99. This masque may possibly be the work referred to in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, 1, 52-55 (as Mr. Chambers suggests, *loc. cit.*, p. 158 f.). Throgmorton was Raleigh's brother-in-law, and Raleigh was at this time the bitter rival of Essex, whom Shakespeare admired.

⁵ In Gascolgne's famous "Zabeta" masque at Kenilworth, it is not hidden. In the Woodstock pageant (cf. Cunliffe, *PMLA*, XIX, 93), the presence of elaborate allegory is stated in the plainest terms. In the pageant given by Essex before the Queen, November 17, 1595, there was much guessing as to the meaning of the allegory (Collins, *Sydney Papers*, I, 362).

into three or more court comedies and political satire into one or more, and the example of Spenser, who had made political allegory all the fashion and who had introduced the trick of flattering the Queen in the guise of several characters in the same story. The very least that can be said is that everything had pointed the way for political allegory in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Not only so, but from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign Burghley had the policy of using the stage as a political instrument.

As early as 1559, the Spanish ambassador wrote home that Burghley went so far as to give certain players "arguments to construct these comedies" (against Philip), and that the Queen had "partly admitted" the fact.¹ In 1592, the Spanish agent Verstegan wrote that the "English policy" toward Spain was to make Philip "odious unto the people, and to that end certain players were suffered to scoff and jest at him upon their common stages."² This shows that Burghley's theory of making use of the stage for political ends had not changed since 1559. Nor in this connection should it be forgotten that he was Lyly's patron.

And finally, when the Queen visited Theobald's in 1593, she was welcomed by a dramatic device in which it was suggested in the plainest terms that Burghley's mantle of councillor should be allowed to fall upon his son Robert.³

V. HERTFORD'S CONNECTION WITH DRAMA AND MASQUE

A strong reason for maintaining that Hertford would have used the drama for political ends in 1595 is that he had already done so. The play of *Gorboduc* is political propaganda for the cause of Lady Katherine Grey and her son.⁴ It was written by Thomas Sackville, who was almost certainly Hertford's friend,⁵ and Thomas Norton, his former tutor.⁶ It was played before the Queen by the gentlemen

¹ Graves, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 547.

² Probably *Midas* was among them. Cf. Bond, *op. cit.*, III, 109 f.

³ Said to have been written by Robert Cecil himself (Nichols, *op. cit.*, II; and cf. Hume, *op. cit.*, pp. 463 f.).

⁴ Cf. Leonard Courtney, in *Notes and Queries* (2d series), X, 261 ff.

⁵ For an incident showing intimate relationship between Hertford and Sackville, cf. Strickland, *Tudor Princesses* (1888), p. 133.

⁶ Norton had been the Duke of Somerset's secretary and schoolmaster to his children (*Wiltshire Arch. Mag.*, XV, 195).

of the Inner Temple, January 18, 1562, about four months after the birth of the Suffolk heir and two weeks before the appointment of the commission by which he was later declared illegitimate.

Its theme is the ruin of England through the lack of a single heir upon whom the succession is fixed. It ends with the invasion of England by the ruler of the Scotch to get the crown for himself. In V, ii, which contains 279 lines, ll. 115-279 (three-fifths) consist of one long speech, emphasizing the "heauie yoke of forreine gouernance" (l. 172) and pleading for the recognition of the "lawfull heire" (l. 277), who is "of natue line" (l. 166), who has a title "by the vertue of some former lawe" (l. 167) and who has been "borne within your natue land" (l. 170). All these claims were true of Lady Katherine and her son, and not true of her rival, Mary Stuart.¹

In 1565 *Gorboduc* was printed. In the Parliament of 1565-66 a most determined effort was made to get the Queen to appoint a successor; and the chairman of the committee that presented a petition to the Queen on the subject was none other than Thomas Norton.²

On December 24, 1569, Hertford praised in a letter a book just written by Norton, his "old scolemaster," evidently against the Northern rebels who had risen in behalf of Mary Stuart and had just been defeated.³ In 1570, Elizabeth was excommunicated and *Gorboduc* was reprinted. These facts suggest strongly that the reprint grew out of the political situation. Moreover, it is clear that Day, the second publisher, feared giving offense. In a preface he states that the book was first published by "one W. G." [William Griffith] without the authors' knowledge, and that he is reprinting merely to correct the "exceedingly corrupted" text. Comparison of the texts, however, shows few errors of importance and suggests that the preface was a device for shifting the responsibility upon Griffith.⁴

¹ But "Right meane I his or hers" (l. 165) may have been inserted to suggest her own recognition in case her son was not acknowledged as legitimate.

Fergus, the Duke of Albany, is described as having precisely the three qualities attributed to Mary Stuart by her enemies: "outrageous pride," "cruell and vntempered wilfulness," and "deepe dissembling shewes of false pretence" (V, ii, 89-91). As Fergus appears in the play, he shows nothing of these.

² He presumably had most to do with drawing it up. Mr. Courtney (*loc. cit.*) finds echoes of the play in it.

³ *Wiltsh. Arch. Mag.*, XV, 195.

⁴ Cf. Manly, *Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, I, 211 ff. The only significant difference is the omission in the second edition of V, i, 42-49, which emphasizes the fact that no subject has the right to question the acts of his sovereign—a subject on which Elizabeth was so techy that perhaps silence was better than discussion, even in her favor.

In 1590 appeared the third and last edition of *Gorboduc*, and in 1591 Hertford made his attempt to win the Queen's favor at Elvetham. I cannot believe that these concurrences of dates are accidental.

Nor is the political aspect of the Elvetham pageant less clear. Not only did Hertford make capital of his connection with the Howards¹ in the pageantry itself;² not only did he flatter the Queen unreasonably even for that time and leave nothing undone for her pleasure; not only was he warned from court so that he could make adequate preparations for his visit; but he had Burghley himself with him at Elvetham on the day of the Queen's arrival.³

The allusion, then, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to an affair so definitely political, given by a man who had so persistently made use of the drama for his political ends becomes significant.⁴

VI. SATIRE OF KING JAMES ON THE ENGLISH STAGE

That James was ridiculed on the stage abroad before 1622 is certain.⁵ That he was satirized on the English stage after he had come to the throne—and even in the presence of his Queen—is shown by a letter from the French ambassador in 1604:

Consider, for pity's sake, what must be the state and condition of a prince whom the preachers publicly from the pulpit assail—whom the comedians of the metropolis bring upon the stage—whose wife attends these representations to enjoy the laugh against her husband—whom the Parliament braves and despises, and who is universally hated by the whole people.⁶

¹ There can be no doubt that he owed such favor as he had to his wife, Lady Frances, for whom the Queen had a strong affection (cf. Collins, *Sydney Papers*, *loc. cit.*, and *Cal. S.P.Dom.*, 1595-97, p. 121 f.; also *Wiltsh. Arch. Mag.*, XV, 200 f.), and to her influential brother, the Lord Admiral.

² The water pageant was a reminder of the Armada defeated by the Lord Admiral's fleet. The Ship Isle and the Fort symbolized the defenses of England and the Snail constructed out of "privie" hedges (another form of *privet* for the sake of the pun on *privy* = *secret*) symbolized the slow and secret policy of her enemy Philip (Nichols, *loc. cit.*, p. 3).

³ As a memorandum in Burghley's own hand shows (Murdin, *State Papers*, p. 797).

⁴ At least two plays of the time seem to have been concerned with the Earl or his family. Of one, nothing is known except the entry by Henslowe in 1602 of a new play of the Earl of 'Harford' (ed., Greg, I, 107b, 170; II, 225). Of the other, the *Duchess of Suffolk*, by Thomas Drue, some scenes have survived, and we have also the Lord Chamberlain's comments that it had been "full of dangerous matter" and "much reformed" by him (Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* [1908], p. 81).

⁵ Cf. Coke, *op. cit.*, I, 126.

⁶ Von Raumer, *The Political History of England during the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries* (1837), I, 458; also, *Notes and Queries* (3d series), V, 451.

That he was satirized on the English stage before he came to the throne appears from the following incident. When the commissioners from Dublin arrived at Cork to proclaim him king, the mayor and council would not at first permit this, saying "they had no fancy for such haste in proclaiming the King of Scots; they knew well that the very stage-players in England jeered at him for being the poorest prince in Christendom."¹ This quotation does not, of course, suggest *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; but it proves that satire of James must have been common and considerably earlier than 1603 to have reached Cork by that time.

There are still earlier traces of stage satire of James. In November, 1599, Lawrence Fletcher with a company of English comedians playing in Edinburgh, although favorably received by James, roused the opposition of the clergy. Called before the King to account for their objections, the clergy gave various reasons; among others the following was put forward by Robert Bruce:

We heard that the comedians in their playes checked your royall person with secreit and indirect taunts and checkes; and there is not a man of honour in England would give suche fellowes so muche as their countenance.²

The situation, oddly enough, seems to have been that James did not believe in the truth of what Bruce said, for he compelled the clergy to withdraw their opposition to the players.³

Nearly two years earlier, the satire of him in a play must have been clear beyond denial. The English agent in Scotland wrote to Burghley under date of April 15, 1598:

It is regretted that the comedians of London should scorn the king and the people of this land in their play; and it is wished that the matter be speedily amended, lest the king and the country be stirred to anger.⁴

These allusions, taken together, prove that James was satirized on the stage, not once but frequently; and the last reference is trust-

¹ On the authority of Richard Boyle (later first Earl of Cork) who was clerk of the council, reported in the *Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*, by Dorothea Townshend (1904), pp. 34 ff. The document is not among the Orrery papers published by Grosart.

² *Register of Privy Council of Scoll.* (1599-1604), pp. 39 ff. The quotation (p. 42, n. 1) is from Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, V, 765-67. For another reference to the affair, cf. *Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 777 f. For this reference and other valuable notes and criticisms, I owe thanks to Miss E. M. Albright.

³ *Ibid.* But it should not be forgotten that he was at this time on very bad terms with his clergy, especially with this very Bruce.

⁴ *Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 749. Noted by Simpson (*loc. cit.*), but wrongly under date of 1595.

worthy evidence that before April, 1598, there was certainly on the English stage one play in particular in which both James and the Scotch were ridiculed.¹ Was the play *A Midsummer Night's Dream*? It was certainly on the public stage by that time or Meres would not have listed it;² and it does, on the present hypothesis, ridicule the King and the people of Scotland. If it was not the play complained of, then some other play, either lost or successfully disguised, took advantage of this second period of strained relations between Elizabeth and James in the spring of 1598, which was similar to that of 1594-95, though less acute.³ But as no such play is known, and as *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which continually suggests peculiarities of James and his people, was on the stage by the spring of 1598, is it not likely to have been the play in question?⁴

¹ It was not Greene's *James IV*, of which James would have complained much earlier, as it was written before 1592 and registered for printing in 1594 (*Stationers' Register*, II, 648).

² Mr. W. J. Lawrence (*London Times Lit. Supplement* [Dec. 9, 1920], p. 826) argues for 1598 as the date of completion. His case seems to rest mainly on the two hypotheses that the references to Hercules may have been inserted when Heywood's "Silver Age" was revived (1598) rather than when it was first played (1595) and that Bottom's stanza about "Phibbus' carre" is a possible hit at the lost Dekker play about Phaeton produced by Henslowe during the winter of 1598. But the fact that Henslowe had a "Faeton's charete" among his stage properties does not go far to explain Bottom's peculiar metrical way of making a joke about Phaeton's father.

It is possible to grant that these hits in I, II, may have been added in 1598, without affecting the conclusion that the play was finished in the spring of 1595.

³ Elizabeth wrote to James (January 4) that he was possessed by "evil spirits," and that "he must be assured he deals with such a King as will bear no wrongs nor endure infamy, and that without large amends she may not, and will not, slupper up any such indignities" (*Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 746). James had been complaining in his Parliament of the wrong done him in the death of his mother, the holding back of his annuity, and the efforts to deprive him of his title to the Crown of England (*ibid.*, p. 745). In March, she wrote in reply to some complaint of his about a satire concerning his mother (there is no indication that it was a play) that she would "have that part left out which mentions the burning of the body of the King's mother" (*ibid.*, pp. 748, 772). In the late spring, the confession of Valentine Thomas that James had hired him to assassinate Elizabeth made matters worse (*Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 750 ff.).

⁴ An incident still to be explained may throw light on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. There is no record of its having been played from 1600 until after the Restoration unless it is the play referred to in a collection of MSS now in the Lambeth Library. According to these, there was presented at the house of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln (later Archbishop of York), on Sunday, September 27, 1631, a comedy in which one character figured with an ass's head. The actor who played this part, who was also chiefly responsible for the performance, was punished by being placed in the stocks, wearing his ass's head and having a bottle of hay before him, and bearing this placard:

"Good people I have played the beast,
And brought ill things to passe:
I was a man, but thus have made
My selfe a silly Asse."

VII. EVIDENCE FROM METRICAL AND OTHER PECULIARITIES

As variation in percentage of run-on lines has long been recognized as one means of dating a play, I judged that it might be used as a further means of testing the dates of the scenes belonging to the different threads of the plot. The results of a count of run-on lines in the blank verse, scene by scene, are summed up as follows:¹

	No. of Lines	Run-on Lines	Percentages
A. <i>Lovers plot</i>:			
I, i, 128-170.....	43	3	7
II, i, 188-240.....	53	8	15
III, ii, 195-347.....	153	14	9
Total and average.....	249	25	10
B. <i>Theseus plot</i>:			
I, i, 1-19.....	19	6	31.5
V, i, 1-105.....	105	25	23.8
Total and average.....	124	31	25
C. <i>Theseus and lovers plot</i>:			
I, i, 20-127.....	108	23	21.3
IV, i, 108-204.....	97	16	16.5
Total and average.....	205	39	18.1
D. <i>Fairy plot</i>:			
II, i, 60-187.....	128	29	22.6
II, i, 1-8.....	8	2	25
IV, i, 45-75.....	31	11	35.5
Total and average.....	167	42	25.2

In the margin of one of these manuscripts a hand described by Miss Toulmin Smith as late has written "M Night Dr" (cf. Variorum ed., *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, p. 339).

These manuscripts were sent to Laud, seemingly to complain of the play because it was given on Sunday. But the fact is that September 27, 1631 was not a Sunday but a Tuesday!

For accounts of the affair, as far as it has been investigated, see Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage* (1879), I, 459 ff.; *Notes and Queries* (2d series), VIII, 401, 477 ff.; Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies* (1910), II, 148 ff.

Pending investigation, however, it may be observed that Bishop Williams was at this time at sword's points with Archbishop Laud and out of favor with the King (cf. Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, II, 418; Hackett, *Scrinia Reserata*, pt. II, 87 ff.; and Lloyd, *op. cit.*, II, 211 ff.). It would be interesting to find that he had been having a little private amusement at James's expense; but until the Lambeth MSS giving an account of the affair have been thoroughly studied, judgment on this point must be reserved.

It is also curious that between 1640 and 1650, when propaganda for the overthrow of the Stuarts must have been active, one of the most popular dolls played about the country was "Bottom's Dream," taken from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (published under that title, by Halliwell, 1860). Is this another coincidence?

¹ After many attempts, on the basis of the Quarto alone, the Quarto as corrected by the Folio and various modern editions, supplemented by my own judgment, to get absolute figures, I finally decided that it was better to adhere rigidly to the punctuation of one standard edition. I have therefore followed the Globe. But the phenomena that appear as a result of my count do not vary much in proportions on any basis that I have tried.

These figures show that the Theseus and Fairy plots have about the same percentages and the Lovers plot has only two-fifths of these; also that the scenes in which the Theseus and Lovers plots come together stand between the two. In the re-working of an old plot to fit a new framework, this is exactly what we should expect to find. Furthermore, examination of the scenes in which the percentages show some peculiarity suggests in each case a reason for the departure from the general tendencies:

1) II, i, 188-240: In this short scene, six lines (214-19) contain almost half of the run-on lines (three out of eight). If we count these out as due to revision, the percentage drops to 9.4 per cent.

2) I, i, 1-19: The very high percentage, together with the inconsistencies as to the moon and the wedding day introduced by this passage, suggests that it is a late addition.

3) I, i, 20-127: Of the twenty-three run-on lines, eleven (almost half) occur in the first thirty lines, leaving only twelve in the remaining seventy-eight; that is, the percentage in the first thirty lines is 36.7 per cent and in the last seventy-eight, 15.4 per cent. This seems to mean that much more revision was needed where the old plot was first set into the new framework.

4) IV, i, 108-204: Here the new work is sharply divided from the old. The famous speech of Theseus about the hounds (ll. 108-32) runs to 32 per cent and ll. 132-204 show only 11 per cent.

5) IV, i, 45-75: This passage is not only very short but it concerns precisely the topic which, on the present hypothesis, would need most revision when the play was printed—the crowning of Bottom by Titania.

The metrical study of these scenes thus confirms the conclusion that the Lovers plot was written much earlier than the Theseus and Fairy plots, and also suggests, what will appear in other ways, that the finished play underwent some later revision.

The diagram on the opposite page attempts to show approximately the history of the composition of the play.

Thus it would seem that the greater part of the first three acts belongs to an early play revised, and the greater part of Act IV and practically all of Act V are later work. It is a curious fact that the

Scene	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	Lines
1600 or 1598	E 1-19 B								48-78		E(t) 1-22 B E(t) 89-105 B 89
1595	E, O 30-137 B	I + t all P	F + t 1-187 B F, O 245-85 R 314-319	F 1-34 M	I, P + t all P, M	F, O 1-40 R	F, E, + t 1-132 B, P, S 197-301	I all P	E(t) 23-88 B E, O, I, F 106-448 P, M, S 1157		
7 1592	O 20-251 B + R		O 188-244 B	O 35-166 R			E, O, I + t 133-336				928
Act	I		II			III	IV		V		2174

Key to diagram:

Scene numbers at the top; act numbers at the bottom.

Assumed dates of composition at the left; totals of lines at the right.

Passages believed to have been revised are in bold-face type. Where patches of revision appear, they are transferred so that they stand

opposite the supposed date of their composition. Revised passages that do not show such patches are left in their original places.

Letters above the line numbers indicate parts of the plot; letters below the line numbers indicate the form, thus:

Plots

E—enveloping plot
O—old plot
F—fairy plot
I—interlude

Forms

B—blank verse
R—heroic couplets
S—octosyllabic couplets
M—mixed meters (including lyric)
P—prose

The following symbols indicate topical matter:

(t)—topical in character
+t—contains topical matter

matter which the metrical test shows to be later, when it forms part of a scene, is in every case placed before the old matter.

As *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is sometimes associated in date with *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1592?) and sometimes with *The Merchant of Venice* (1595?), it may be to the point to observe that the first three acts go with the former and the last two with the latter.¹ This would point to a gap of three or more years between the composition of the two parts.

With these marked metrical differences must be associated three other striking features of the play: (1) inconsistencies; (2) traces of excision or alteration; and (3) apologetic passages.

1) The inconsistencies have often been noted and attributed to sheer carelessness.² But is not hasty revision an equally reasonable explanation? Besides the traces of excision already discussed,³ the extremely abrupt transitions in II, i, 31-32, 81-82, 137-38, may be mentioned as possibly due to cuts; but the evidence is too uncertain to be stressed.

Of apologetic passages there are several⁴ which seem to have no reason for being in the play. In V, i, 2-22 there is a famous generalized analysis of the power of imagination, which ends with the idea

¹ Although we cannot assume that any play was written at a sitting or left without subsequent revision, the comparative uniformity of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merchant of Venice* is suggested by the following summaries:

The Two Gentlemen of Verona: Omitting three short scenes (52 lines out of 1,510), the percentages of run-on lines vary from 14 per cent to 26 per cent; omitting 189 lines more, the range is 15 per cent to 23 per cent.

The Merchant of Venice: Omitting five short scenes (198 lines out of 1,896), the range is 21 per cent to 30 per cent.

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the range is 7 per cent to 35.5 per cent.

² Besides the two accounts of the Indian boy (cf. pp. 60 f. above) they are: (1) the clash between May Day and midsummer (cf. p. 134, n. 2); (2) the confusion as to time and the moon (cf. I, i, 1 ff. and III, i, 52 ff.; also, I, i, 83 ff., 209, 247; IV, i, 93 f. and 140 f., especially); (3) the confusion as to characters in the Interlude (cf. I, ii, 62 ff., III, i, 60 ff. and V, i, 157).

³ Cf. p. 85, above.

⁴ I purposely exclude Titania's plea for her "votaress" because it forms a part of the preceding argument.

The long account of Robin Goodfellow (II, i, 32-57), however, may be protective. If there is a hint of Burghley in Oberon (cf. p. 66, n. 2, above), Robert Cecil suggests himself for Puck. It is Puck who sets the ass's head on Bottom and Puck who in the Epilogue deprecates offense and promises amends. Some color is lent to the idea by the facts that Elizabeth's nickname for Cecil was "spirit" (cf. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 33, and III, ii, 4), and also that in 1584 Fulke Greville had joked about himself at court as Robin among the dairy maids (Alkin, *op. cit.*, II, 96; on the authority of Bacon). Then why not Cecil, if the part fitted? The use of the folk-lore would have made it easier to repudiate the allegory, if necessary.

that people often give a "local habitation and a name" to what is "airy nothing" in the poet's mind, and that imagination may easily turn a "bush" into a "bear." If this is not a disclaimer, what is it?¹

Of the same type is V, i, 89-105 in which the Interlude is described as the production of poor working men, and a compliment on the Queen's graciousness in hearing such stuff concludes the scene. The significant features about the passage are its elaboration and emphasis. It looks as if the "imagination" passage disclaims allegory in what has gone before and this denies satire in what is to follow.²

The third passage, the epilogue, Mr. Lawrence regards as no more than the usual sort of excuse at the end of a play. It has, however, one significant feature: it borrows an idea twice used by Lyly in prologues to plays of political significance, as appears from the following comparison:

If we shadows have offended,
Think but this, and all is mended,
That you have but slumber'd here
While these visions did appear.
And this weak and idle theme,
No more yielding but a dream,
Gentles, do not reprehend [V, i, 430-37].

I on knee for all entreat that your Highness imagine yourself to be in a deep dream, that staying the conclusion in your rising your Majesty vouchsafe but to say, And so you awaked.³

Again:

If many faults escape in her discourse
Remember all is but a poet's dream. . . .⁴

From the evidence presented I conclude that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was begun early, finished hastily for a special purpose, several years later, and later still, revised to avoid possible offense. This evidence, then, contributes to the general argument.⁵

¹ Its lateness is suggested by 29 per cent of run-on lines.

² Its lateness is suggested by 35 per cent of run-on lines; but in short passages, of course, the addition or omission of a single line makes a very great difference in the percentage.

³ *Sapho and Phao*, Prologue at the court, ll. 14-17.

⁴ *The Woman in the Moone*, Prologue, ll. 16-17.

⁵ The old idea that the play was given at the Stanley-Vere wedding, January 25, 1595, scarcely needs discussion. Mr. Chambers (*op. cit.*, p. 159) suggests as a possible alternative the Berkeley-Carey wedding, February 19, 1596, and Mr. Lawrence (*loc. cit.*) scouts the idea of the wedding altogether. But it is perfectly possible that a political play might have been given at a wedding later. The only point is: Is the evidence sufficient?

VIII. WAS "A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM" GIVEN AT COURT?

It is generally agreed that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is the court type of play. It flatters Elizabeth in the persons of Titania-Diana, the Fairy Queen; of Hippolyta, the Amazon queen; and even of Theseus, the beneficent ruler.¹ It reflects her court in II, i, 1-18, and V, i, 30-107. With the talent for interpreting allegory with which Burghley credits her,² she would not have been slow to see in the use of the moonlight flattery of her beneficent influence,³ which was given another expression in the triumph of "Dian's bud" (IV, i, 78) over "Cupid's flower" (II, i, 165 ff.). The play must have appealed to her interests at every point, with its music, singing, dancing, pageantry, poetry, and the rough humor that she loved. The winding of the horns and the discussion of hounds (IV, i, 108-32) seem dragged in only for their appeal to one who loved hunting as she did. And finally, there are several passages of direct compliment. Besides the famous lines about the "fair vestal," there is the lullaby to the "lovely lady" who was the fairy queen (II, ii, 9 ff.), and the tribute to the gracious prince who was always kind to poor players (V, i, 89-105).

But with every reason for supposing that the play would have been given at court,⁴ the only authentic quarto (1600) says no word of court performance though it speaks of repeated performances on the public stage. As it is not likely that a court performance would

¹ In patent imitation of Spenser's trick of complimenting her in the same work, not only as Gloriana, the Fairy Queen, but also as Belphebe, representing Diana huntress, as Mercilla, the merciful monarch sitting in judgment on her enemy, and as Tanaquill, descendant of a long line of British kings. From Spenser came the idea of calling her "Fairy Queen"; she was known by the different epithets of Diana throughout her reign; at the time of the Armada, the title of Amazon suggested itself (cf. "Elizabeth Triumphant," in Nichols, *op. cit.*, I, 22), and her tutor, Roger Ascham, had compared her to Hippolyta (cf. letter from him quoted in Strickland, *Queens of England* [1866], III, 36). On the strength of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, i, 89-105, critics have commonly accepted the tribute to her as Theseus. She had a fancy for calling herself "prince" or "king" rather than "queen" or "princess" (cf. p. 142, n. 3, above).

² In February, 1595, he wrote of her: "I thinke never a ladye besides her, nor a decipherer in the courte, would have dissolved the figure [explained the allegory] to have found the sense as her Majestie hath done" (Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 428). Then an allegorist need not have been too explicit!

³ Cf. I, i, 1-12, 73 ff., 209 ff.; II, i, 2-15, 60, 141; and III, i, 48 ff.—the identification being made certain by II, i, 162. Even Oberon's fog (III, ii, 357 f.) might have been given a flattering interpretation.

⁴ The graceful allusion to the Queen's pensioners (II, i, 10-15) may have been made not without reference to the fact that Shakespeare's patron, Hunsdon, was their captain.

have been forgotten so soon,¹ I think that the play, like Gascoigne's masque at Kenilworth, was for some reason not presented. If so, the explanation may lie in the following document found among the Salisbury manuscripts, under the doubly significant² date of July 10, 1595:

Memorandum that Sir Thos. Heneage, Vicechamberlain, has by her Majesty's special command delivered to Lord Treasurer Burghley a written book of paper and parchment containing 80 folios bound in vellum parchment, containing a process against Lord Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and Lady Katherine, deceased, daughter of the late Duke of Suffolk, attainted, in a cause of pretended matrimony, and a definitive sentence given against them both by the late most reverend father in God, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund, bishop of London, Sir William Petre and other commissioners, authorized for that purpose by a commission under the Great Seal dated January 31, 4 Eliz., which commission is also delivered. And the said book and commission are by the Lord Treasurer to be delivered to remain of Record in the Treasury of her Majesty's Exchequer, not to be removed thence without special warrant from her Majesty to the Lord Treasurer or any his successor as Treasurer of England. Signed and sealed by Burghley for testimony hereof and in discharge of Sir Thomas Heneage.³

Not without direct suggestion of some kind would the Queen have taken from the files of thirty-three years before the full report of the trial by which the Hertford heir was judged illegitimate. In the memorandum itself is evidence of the importance that she attached to the safe-keeping of the document. It was, indeed, the justification of her attitude. Had Burghley asked her to review the evidence?

Only the day before, Sir Thomas Cecil (Hertford's friend and companion in Paris in 1561) wrote to his brother Robert:

I left the moon in the wane at my last being at the Court; I hear now it is a half moon again, yet I think it will never be at the full, though I hope it will never be eclipsed, you know whom I mean.⁴

Is this a hint of the reconsideration of Hertford's case, which was going on at that very time?

¹ It might, of course, have been given and so badly received that no mention of the performance was politic. But why did no gossip get hold of such an occasion? And why did not James complain then? In 1595, he complained of Barnabe Riche's satire on Scotland (cf. p. 68, n. 4); in November, 1596, he complained bitterly of Spenser's satire in the *Faerie Queene*, V, ix (*Cal.S.P.Scott.*, II, 723 and *Reg. Privy Counc. of Scott.*, V, 323 f. with note).

² Doubly, because *A Midsummer Night's Dream* had just been finished and because Dr. Aubrey died July 23 (cf. p. 59, above).

³ V, 273.

⁴ *Ibid.*

IX. SHAKESPEARE AND THE POLITICAL GAME

Among dramatists, Shakespeare was the most likely to have been chosen for a big political coup.¹ His *Love's Labor's Lost* had shown that he could write better court comedies than Lyly. He had twice played before the Queen at Christmas, 1594. He was on terms of friendship with his patron, Southampton, the intimate friend of Essex, who at that time was at the height of his influence at court.

There is no evidence of his direct association with Hertford; but Hertford was a man of literary instincts, and both he and his wife took an active interest in the drama.² More important still is the fact that one of his gentlemen, who was also his wife's brother-in-law, was Sir George Carey,³ and that Carey, who (like his father Hunsdon) could have told Shakespeare almost anything about Scotland and James,⁴ had helped to hold the canopy over the Queen's chair of state as she sat "throned by the west" at Elvetham.⁵ Through either of the Careys Hertford had easy access to Shakespeare.

But whether Shakespeare was approached through Carey, or Southampton, or directly, to play a part in the political game, we have at least the best of evidence—his own—to show that he was

¹ Greene and Marlowe were dead. Lyly was apparently out of favor with the Queen (cf. Bond, *op. cit.*, I, 62 f.).

² He had been educated with King Edward VI by the best teachers in the land, studying French, Greek, and music, besides Latin and all the other subjects and accomplishments regarded as suitable for gentlemen in that age of learning (*Literary Remains of Edward VI [Roxburghe Club]*, I, lx ff.). It is clear that he attempted to write verses himself (Ellis, *op. cit.*, II, p. 290, and *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.*, XV, 192). He also had an M.A. from Cambridge.

His connection with *Gorboduc* has been discussed (pp. 138 ff., above). There is also a curious undated letter to him from a tutor in his family, which shows that the Earl had been considering for some unknown purpose various stories (*ibid.*, p. 199). The story outlined concerns the wrath of Jupiter over the marriage to a mortal of a woman he loved. It is easy to see how this might have been adapted into a dramatic parallel to Hertford's own case; but we hear nothing more of the affair.

Both Hertford and his son, Lord Beauchamp, were patrons of dramatic companies as Hertford's father, the Duke of Somerset, and his father-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, had been before him (cf. Tucker Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 317 f., and II, 24 f., 40, 68, and 71 f.).

Hertford's wife is described in Rogers' *Celestiall Elegies*, 1598 (*Roxburghe Club*, Vol. 109), as especially lamented by Thalia (muse of comedy), whose cause she had ever sought to advance.

³ His sister Catherine married the Lord Admiral, whose sister Frances was Hertford's second wife.

⁴ Cf. p. 87 above.

⁵ Nichols, *loc. cit.*, p. 26.

familiar with the game. He introduces into the plot of *Hamlet*¹ the device of learning a monarch's state of mind by means of a play. There is, to say the least, as good reason for believing that he got the idea from his own observation—if not, experience—as from the old play. At all events the scene in *Hamlet* shows the procedure: a play is chosen that "comes near the circumstance"; a passage is added, to make the application more certain; the King is suspicious of "offense" in the play, but is reassured; in the course of the play, he is betrayed by his emotions even at the moment when Hamlet disclaims responsibility by declaring "the story is extant, and writ in choice Italian." From what has been said before, it is clear that a scene which to us seems extremely far-fetched was to Shakespeare's audience natural and plausible.²

There are also, as Simpson shows,³ strong indications in Shakespeare's historical plays that his attitude was nationalistic, opposed to foreign intervention,⁴ and also that his glorification of England⁵ was associated with a strong interest in the succession; and at least once he expressed dislike of the Scotch.⁶ There is a long passage in *Henry V*, not found in Holinshed or in the old play, in which the attitude expressed is of mingled distrust and contempt. Whether Shakespeare invented the lines or adapted them, their presence where they are not needed suggests personal feeling.⁷

¹ II, ii, 562-69 and 617-34; and III, ii, 80-92, 242-53, 272-75, and 297-301.

² Compare with the suspicious attitude of Claudius, Elizabeth's comment on a marriage play in 1565, "This is all against me" (*Cal.S.P.Span.*, 1558-67, pp. 367 f.; also quoted by Graves, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 550 f.).

³ "The Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays" (*loc. cit.*, pp. 396 ff.).

⁴ And James was regarded by the nationalistic party as a foreigner, besides being tainted in blood by his mother's execution for treason (cf. *Cal. Border Papers*, II, 103).

⁵ Cf. especially, *King John*, V, vii, 112 ff., *Richard II*, II, i, 40 ff., and *Henry V*, II, Prologue, ll. 16 ff.

⁶ Simpson calls attention to his alterations in *King John* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 397 ff.), to the parallelisms between *Henry IV*, in which the Northern Rebellion is the main theme, and the Rebellion of 1569 (*ibid.*, pp. 411 ff.), and to his anti-Scotch attitude (*ibid.*, pp. 416 f.).

⁷ I, ii, 140-77. The following expressions are used: "pilfering borderers"; "coursing snatchers"; "giddy neighbour"; "taken and impounded as a stray The King of Scots"; "the weasel Scot Comes sneaking"; "Playing the mouse in absence of the cat, To tear and havoc more than she can eat"; and "petty thieves."

Simpson (*loc. cit.*, p. 417) is troubled by the apparent inconsistency between this attitude and the account of Captain Jamy in III, ii, 79 ff. But is the attitude inconsistent? Of the four captains, Shakespeare plainly admires the Welsh and the English and represents the Irishman unfavorably as impetuous and irascible. Of Jamy his opinion is not so clear. Fluellen describes him as "marvellous valorous," pedantic, and argumentative, and immediately asks the *Irishman* to instruct him about "military

Here, doubtless, objection will be made that as soon as James was established in England, he appointed as his players the company of which Shakespeare was a leading member. This objection is easily answered. As far as James is concerned, there is no evidence from his complaint of 1598 that he knew details about the play or author (granting that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is the play in question), and there is no evidence that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was given at court at all. Again, the chief man in Shakespeare's company in 1603 was Lawrence Fletcher, who had been a favorite with James for eight years or more;¹ so there is every reason to attribute the King's patronage to his liking for Fletcher. Moreover, the King's Players, even after James came to the throne, at least once gave a play of which the very subject must have been highly offensive to him: that was a tragedy, since lost, about the famous Gowrie murder in which he was accused of having a part.²

And as for Shakespeare, his open praise of Essex in *Henry V* (V, Prologue, ll. 29-34), together with the political ideas expressed in that play, suggests that like Southampton he may later have been converted to the political ideas of Essex with regard to James.³ But surely it is enough to say that, like innumerable others of his time, he may have championed the Suffolk cause as long as it seemed to have a chance and then accepted James.

X. CONCLUSIONS

Knowing as I do how much more material, especially in unpublished sources, remains to be investigated, I am reluctant to state any conclusions. It may, however, be worth while to separate the

discipline" and to argue with him about the "Roman wars." Is not this making fun of Jamy? Apparently the Scotchman takes it so, for he immediately says that he will get even with them both (ll. 110 f.). And of Jamy's marvelous valor we hear nothing more except his own boast, which immediately follows. On what is the common opinion that Shakespeare deals kindly with Jamy based?

¹ *Cal. S. P. Scoll.*, II, 676; and cf. p. 141 n. 2, above. Cf. also Tucker Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 146, and 104, n. 3.

² Letter from Chamberlain to Winwood, December 18, 1604 (*Winwood Memorials*, 1725, II, 41). Chamberlain added that it was thought the play would be forbidden; but we know no more about it. Quite apart from the question of James's possible guilt, the experience was not one to be remembered, as for instance, the mob's calling him "son of Signior Davie."

³ If, as seems almost certain (cf. Strickland, *Queens of England* [1866], III, 540 f. and Gildersleeve, *op. cit.*, 98 f.), it was Shakespeare's *Richard II* that was played in connection with Essex's rebellion, this view is greatly strengthened.

facts assembled by the present investigation from the hypotheses which seem to me to interpret them. The principal facts which I believe to be practically established are:

1. About 100 lines in II, i, 1-187 are topical.
2. The lines that seem to refer to the Elvetham fête are preceded by lines that parallel the story of Lady Katherine Grey, by others that suggest the refusal of Elizabeth to submit to the will of Henry VIII about the Suffolk heir, and by others that hint at supernatural wrath due to this situation as causing the abnormal weather of 1594-95.
3. The generally accepted reference to the lion-episode at Stirling is borne out by other echoes from that occasion.
4. Many jokes either inappropriate to Bottom or obscure in themselves are explained by striking peculiarities about the person or history of King James.
5. If James's Pyramus poem is, as there are strong reasons for believing, the supposedly lost poem that he sent to Elizabeth, it motivates satire of his pretensions to the English throne in the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, and it also helps to explain why the figures of alliteration and repetition, which he expounded with approval in his critical treatise, should be so abundantly parodied in the Interlude itself.
6. Study of the run-on lines makes it clear that the Theseus and Fairy plots were written several years after the Lovers plot, and that the whole play underwent some later revision before 1600; internal evidence shows that it could not have been finished before the early summer of 1595; and although it bears all the marks of a court play, there is no evidence that it was ever played before the Queen.
7. In 1595 the affairs of Hertford were at a crisis that warranted an attempt on his behalf; and the situation of Elizabeth and James was such that satire of him before her might have been planned.
8. The Cecils had frequently used both drama and masque as political tools; Hertford had used the play of *Gorboduc* to push the Suffolk claim, and the pageantry at Elvetham to win the Queen's favor; in 1595, the Cecils were adherents of the Suffolk claim.
9. James was commonly satirized on the English stage and in 1598, when *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was played in London, he complained of a stage satire on himself and the Scotch.

10. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* shows the influence of Spenser and of Lyly, both of whom wrote political allegory, and in turn it influences a political allegory by Dekker.

11. Shakespeare in *Hamlet* shows that he is familiar with the political use of the drama; in *Henry V* he shows dislike of the Scots and admiration for Essex and his ideas.

12. Shakespeare's part in the political game can be explained either through his friendship with Southampton, the friend of Essex, who in 1595 stood by Hertford in time of trouble; or through his connection with the Careys, one of whom, Lord Hunsdon, his patron, could have told him all about Scotland and its king, and the other, George Carey, not only about Scotland but also about Hertford, to whom he was related by marriage and about the Elvetham pageant, of which he was an eye-witness.

These groups of facts seem to me to afford a reasonably secure foundation for the belief that in 1595 Shakespeare's dramatic power was enlisted to support the claim of the Suffolk heir, in connection with a plea for his legitimization which was either not made or which failed, and to ridicule the pretensions to the throne of his Scottish rival; that after failing of its purpose at court, it was played on the public stage in 1598, either then or between 1598 and 1600 undergoing a revision by which both the allegory and the satire were almost obscured. That further study will show errors in detail and alternative explanations for some facts I am fully prepared to find; but that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as a whole does not belong to that considerable group of plays in which political allegory and satire have been almost expunged from the printed forms, I shall be slow to believe.¹ Furthermore, if circumstances permit, I hope to be able to show that in others of Shakespeare's plays there are strong signs of political purpose, beginning perhaps with *Love's Labor's Lost*. I am convinced that continued study of the plays from this point of view will throw fresh light upon Shakespeare himself.

EDITH RICKERT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ It is not necessary here to cite instances of plays described at the time as political and dangerous, which now seem perfectly innocuous.

"CI FALT LA GESTE QUE TUROLDUS DECLINET"

"Ci falt la geste que Tuoldus declinet." Depuis 1834, environ, ce dernier vers de la *Chanson de Roland* a intrigué et continue à intriguer les lecteurs de cette chanson épique; dans les quelques paragraphes suivants je tâcherai d'en donner une interprétation qui, si elle n'est pas absolument nouvelle, est certainement inédite et qui, à mon avis, a le mérite essentiel d'être appuyée par des pièces justificatives.

Je dis "inédite" parce que ni Boissonnade (1922)¹ ni aucun autre de tous les philologues ou critiques littéraires qui ont écrit sur ce problème ne paraît avoir songé à l'interprétation que je vais offrir; mais il faut ajouter que peu de temps après avoir rédigé la première forme de cet article (janvier 1923) j'ai appris que la même idée (concernant le vrai sens du mot qui a fait de ce vers une véritable énigme) était venue à l'esprit d'un de mes amis plus d'un an avant de venir au mien, mais il ne m'en avait jamais soufflé mot; d'ailleurs, me dit-il dans une lettre du 28 février 1923, "Moi-même je n'y croyais (et je n'y crois toujours) qu'à moitié."² Comme mon ami, je garderais le silence, moi aussi, si mon idée n'était restée qu'à l'état d'hypothèse.

Il est presque superflu de rappeler comment différents traducteurs ont cru pouvoir interpréter le vers qui nous intéresse; après tout, il n'y a eu presque qu'une seule interprétation de ce vers, à moins qu'on ne tienne compte des nombreuses traductions de *declinet*, aucune desquelles n'est justifiée par ce que nous savons de la langue qu'on écrivait à l'époque et dans la région qui nous concernent. Mais le premier élément incertain de notre problème c'est le mot *geste*.

Des huit exemples de ce mot qu'on trouve dans le *Roland* (788, 1443, 1685, 2095, 3181, 3262, 3742, 4002), six désignent clairement une source écrite: *Il est escrit en la geste Francor* (1443), *Ço dit la geste* (1685, 2095), *En plusurs gestes de lui sunt granz honurs* (3181), *Geste Francor .XXX. escheles i numbrent* (3262), *Il est escrit en l'anciene*

¹ *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, par P. Boissonnade, Librairie Champion, Paris. Un exemplaire de cet ouvrage m'est parvenu en avril 1923.

² Cet ami tient à rester anonyme.

geste. D'après M. Pio Rajna,¹ "dans tous ces passages [et dans deux autres, ms. de Venise, vv. 1355, 1945] *geste* signifie, sûrement, ou avec beaucoup de probabilité, une chronique, une chronique latine." M. Rajna insiste sur l'emploi des mots *escrit* et *anciene*; pour lui, *Geste Francor* est une traduction de *Gesta Francorum* et, écartant pour le moment le dernier vers, le seul cas où le sens de *geste* lui semble plus ou moins douteux se trouve au v. 3181 (*En plusurs gestes de lui sunt granz honurs*), mais ici, pense-t-il, nous pouvons interpréter: "In molte storie si leggon di lui," etc.

Les exemples qu'on vient d'examiner ne me semblent pas justifier la conclusion de M. Rajna, qui ne parle pas du v. 788 et qui n'était pas obligé de tirer du *Roland*, exclusivement, ses exemples du mot *geste*. Que veut dire Roland là où il répond à l'Empereur, offrant de lui laisser la moitié de ses armées?—

Jo n'en ferai nient.

Deus me cunfunde, se la geste en desment!

Si je ne me trompe, il veut dire à peu près ceci: "Dieu me confonde si j'agis de manière à dégrader nos nobles exploits, à faire déshonneur à notre croisade," ou bien, pour citer une interprétation (celle de M. Bédier) qui exprime plutôt un résultat inévitable d'une acceptation de l'offre refusée: "si je démens mon lignage!"

Quant au sens de *geste* au dernier vers du poème (*Ci falt la geste que Tuoldus declinet*), M. Rajna arrive à la conclusion suivante: Si, dans le vers que nous nous efforçons d'expliquer, *geste* signifiait *chanson de geste*, comme la plupart des gens le croient, si ce mot désignait le *Roland* même, ce serait, sur sept ou huit cas, le seul exemple d'une telle signification.

Mais quel est le fait historique qui nous oblige à attribuer à cet exemple du mot *geste* une signification si précise? Qu'est-ce qui empêche ce mot, dans *Ci falt la geste*, de signifier ce que *gesta* avait signifié avant l'existence du *Roland*, et ce qu'il a continué de signifier après le *Roland*, c'est-à-dire "histoire"?—non pas nécessairement une histoire écrite en latin, mais dans certains cas bien connus, tout simplement un récit épique (comme nous dirions) des exploits plus ou moins héroïques de tel ou tel personnage rendu célèbre par les chroniqueurs, par des traditions orales, ou par les chants ou les *chansons* des mènes-

¹ *Romania*, t. XIV (1885), pp. 405-15 ("Contributi alla storia dell'Epopea").

trels ? Quel est le sens de *geste* dans le titre *Geste du Roi* ou *Geste de Guillaume au court nés* ou *Geste de Doon de Mayence* ou *Geste des Loerains* ?

Le mot *geste* (comme *gesta*) pouvait désigner les actions mêmes de tel personnage célèbre, ou de telle *compagnie* de guerriers ou héros, aussi bien que l'*histoire* (écrite en latin ou écrite en français), et c'est bien ce sens qu'on trouve dans un passage où Dante a été inspiré par le souvenir de Roland :

Dopo la dolorosa rotta, quando
Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta,
Non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando.¹

Cette *santa gesta*, ce n'était point une *histoire*, c'était un exploit, une aventure, et Dante ne fait qu'exprimer en italien une des significations françaises du mot *geste*, le seul sens du latin (*gesta*) : *Gesta Romanorum*, *Gesta Francorum*, etc. "On appela aussi *geste* un certain groupe de traditions épiques (à peu près ce que nous nommons un cycle), et par suite la famille qui fournissait les héros de ce groupe, la famille épique, comme nous disons aussi." (Gaston Paris, *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, 3^e éd., 1905, § 21.) Ce dernier sens de *geste* est représenté au v. 788, tandis qu'au v. 4002 (si, pour le moment, nous ne tenons pas compte du second hémistichie) *Ci falt la geste* peut signifier "Ici finissent les aventures" (de Roland et des autres personnages de cette *cançon*, v. 1014), ou bien, "Ici finit l'histoire"; pour nous, comme pour les contemporains de notre poète, le mot *geste* (v. 4002) peut exprimer, indifféremment, l'un ou l'autre de ces deux sens ou tous les deux en même temps.

Revenons maintenant aux idées de M. Rajna. "Dans ces quelques mots," dit-il, et il parle toujours de *Ci falt la geste que Turolodus declinet*, "il y en a encore un qui obscurcit [*annebbia*] l'interprétation, et c'est le mot *declinet*." Non, il y en a deux ! mais c'est *declinet* que nous examinerons d'abord.

1. Si *decliner* ne peut pas signifier "terminer" (et ce sens n'est justifié par aucun exemple), Turolod ne saurait être le scribe.
2. Le sens "copier" est exclu par le contexte.
3. Le sens "coucher par écrit" serait également "una fantascienza senza fondamento." Oui.

¹ *Inferno*, XXXI, 16-18.

4. "Mais les analogies permettent de traduire *declinet* par *récite* [*recita*]; *dit*, *expose*, ou quelque chose de ce genre. Cependant, si l'on admet le sens *récite*, comment, demande M. Rajna, ce seul nom aurait-il pu survivre des milliers et des milliers [?] qui avaient tout autant de droit à l'immortalité—à moins d'imaginer que Turolde était scribe aussi bien que ménestrel; mais dans ce cas pourquoi *réciter* et non pas *écrire*, ce qui est beaucoup plus important?" (Rien n'indique que *decliner* ait jamais signifié *réciter* ou *écrire* pendant la période et dans la région qui nous concernent; passons, pourtant, au cinquième point:)

5. "Turolde veut donc être regardé comme un auteur. Complétons le sens d'après la lettre et disons qu'il est l'auteur de la *geste*."

6. Mais, continue M. Rajna, voici un détail qui ressort maintenant comme un indice clair, éclatant, auquel il est étrange qu'on n'ait pas fait attention: le texte dit "Turolde"; pourquoi cette forme latine si elle ne désigne pas l'auteur d'une œuvre latine? Maintenant, pour la première fois (à l'avis de M. Rajna), nous sommes à même de comprendre aussi le temps présent *declinet*; c'est le temps présent qu'on emploie habituellement en parlant des auteurs auxquels on renvoie: "Tite Live raconte, les histoires narrent, Turpin dit," etc.

M. Rajna n'a pas oublié le v. 2447 du *Roland*,

Quant veit li reis le vespre decliner

et il cite aussi un vers d'un poème lyrique de Chrestien de Troyes,

Quant li douls estés decline,

mais, à son avis, ces exemples ne servent à rien, "parce que *decliner* est employé intransitivement." En effet.

Autant qu'on sache *decliner* n'a jamais signifié ni "réciter" ni "écrire" pendant la période et dans la région qui nous concernent; voilà pourquoi je ne puis attacher aucune importance, comme pièce justificative, à un passage où Froissart (*Espinette amoureuse*, v. 32) paraît donner à *decline* le sens "récite" ou peut-être "rèpète":

Car en pluisours lieux on decline
Que toute joie et toute honnours
Viennent et d'armes et d'amours.

Pour le même motif il faut rejeter aussi un passage de Marcabrun :

Per savil tenc ses doptansa
Cil qui de mon chant devina
So que chascus motz declina.¹

Également un passage où un autre Provençal, le moine de Montaudon, dans un poème adressé à Marcabrun (Bartsch, no. 85), donne, ou semble donner, au verbe *decliner* le sens "réciter", "raconter", ou "déclarer" :

Marcabrun, si cum declinaz
qu'amors si ab engan mesclaz,
dunc es lo almosna pechaz,
la cima devers la raiz ?

Je ne nie pas que l'interprétation qui, selon M. Rajna, est non seulement permmissible mais imposée ("recita; dice, espone," ou quelque chose de ce genre") puisse être la vraie; je me borne, strictement, à nier que les exemples cités à l'appui de cette interprétation satisfassent aux conditions imposées par la lexicologie scientifique: (1) Il faut que le contexte suffise à lui seul pour montrer que tel mot ou telle expression qui s'y trouve peut avoir telle signification; ainsi, dans le *Roland* (1419), le contexte même révèle que *Voillet o nun, tut i laisset sun tens* signifie: "bon gré, mal gré, il y laisse sa vie"; c'est un témoignage interne, mais convaincant. Si, d'autre part, le témoignage est externe, (2) il faut pouvoir trouver dans d'autres documents de la même époque et de la même région au moins un exemple authentique et clair du sens qu'on croit devoir attribuer au mot ou à l'expression qu'on veut éclaircir. Si les pièces justificatives sont nombreuses, tant mieux. Le corollaire négatif de ces principes est évident. Maintenant, si l'on peut expliquer tel passage sans rien détourner de son sens établi ou de l'une quelconque des différentes significations solidement établies pour toute la période en question (dans ce cas, les onzième et douzième siècles, car personne ne soutiendra que notre Chanson fût composée avant ou après cette période), et solidement établies pour toute la région en question (dans ce cas, le domaine de la langue d'oïl), pourquoi chercher à appliquer un sens qui ne se conforme pas aux conditions nommées et qu'il faut même tirer par les cheveux pour qu'il explique ou semble expliquer tel passage ?

¹ Mahn, *Gedichte d. Trouv.*, Nos. 722 et 723.

Or, à mon avis, traduire notre *declinet* par "récite," "dit," "raconte," "chante," "expose," ou par n'importe quelle expression de ce genre, c'est offrir une pure conjecture dans un cas où une interprétation toute différente non seulement est justifiée par la lexicologie la plus rigoureuse mais semble être la seule que puissent autoriser les faits connus. Cette interprétation de *declinet*, dans le vers *Ci falt la geste que Turoldus declinet*, c'est simplement *décline* au sens légèrement métaphorique que nous trouvons ailleurs dans la *Chanson de Roland* (2447),

Quant veit li reis le vespre decliner,

mais avant l'existence de notre *Roland* (Digby 23) ce verbe avait déjà pris ce sens métaphorique à propos de la vie humaine:

Al tems Noé ed al tems Abraam
Ed al David, cui Deus par amat tant,
Bons fu li siecles: jamais n'iert si vaillanz;
Vielz est e fraieles, toz s'en vait declinant,
Sist empeiriez toz biens vait remanant.¹

Ici, évidemment, le poète parle du *siecle* (du monde) comme s'il s'agissait d'un vieillard qui *Vielz est e fraieles* et *toz s'en vait declinant*. Cette application de *decliner* à des personnes se trouve donc déjà au onzième siècle dans le nord de la France et a dû être connue ailleurs, car après la période du *Roland* on la constate dans presque tout le domaine roman.

En un mot, poétiquement ou littéralement, Turold se sent trop vieux ou trop faible pour continuer la *geste*; donc, "Ici finissent les aventures (ou Ici finit l'histoire)" etc. Oui, mais, me diront M. Rajna et d'autres, dans ce cas vous faites de *declinet* un verbe intransitif et vous oubliez, par conséquent, votre pronom relatif.

Il est vrai que le manuscrit d'Oxford porte clairement *Ci falt la geste que Turoldus declinet*, et j'ajouterai que toutes les éditions connues de ce manuscrit, en reproduisant cette leçon telle quelle, ont sauvegardé et perpétué cette idée, parce que personne, que je sache, sauf mon ami anonyme et moi-même, n'a jamais songé à prendre ce *que* pour autre chose qu'un pronom relatif. C'est ainsi que le vrai sens du v. 4002 fut innocemment mais efficacement "camouflé" par quelque scribe médiéval.

¹ *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, vv. 6-10.

Camoufions de la même façon une phrase latine: "Ne mater et suam." Pourquoi ces quatre mots semblent-ils dépourvus de syntaxe et de sens? Parce qu'ils ne sont pas ponctués et que, par conséquent, le lecteur non avisé, attachant tout naturellement au mot *Ne* sa signification ordinaire, n'y voyant que la particule négative, finit par jeter sa langue aux chiens. Que faut-il pour rendre ces quatre mots aussi clairs que le jour? Deux virgules:—*Ne, mater, et suam*, "File, mère, et moi je coudrai."

Rendons maintenant un semblable service au scribe à qui nous devons le manuscrit d'Oxford: *Ci falt la geste, que Tuoldus declinet*, et l'on verra qu'une simple virgule nous a permis, en un instant, de donner à ce vers un sens clair et naturel: "Ici finit la geste, car Tuoldus est à son déclin." C'est ainsi que nous faisons disparaître une inhibition qui, pendant près de quatre-vingt-dix ans, a empêché presque tous ceux qui ont essayé d'interpréter ce célèbre vers d'y voir autre chose que le pronom relatif.

Au moyen âge, *que* signifie si fréquemment "parce que" ou "car" qu'il est presque superflu d'en citer des exemples. Rien que dans le *Roman de Troie* (30316 vers) ce sens se rencontre au moins quarante-cinq fois.¹ Cette signification se trouve déjà dans la *Vie de Saint Léger*, qui en fournit, apparemment, l'exemple le plus ancien:

Et sanz Ledgiers donc firet bien,
Que s'ent ralat en s'evesquiét;
Et Evruins donc firet mel,
Que donc devint anatemez.

Mais la *Chanson de Roland* aussi offre des exemples convaincants de ce sens:

Li quens Rollant ne se doüst penser,
Que estrait estes de mult grant parented [355-56].
La hanste fruisset, mie n'en abatiet.
Ultre s'en vait, qu'il n'i a desturber [1317-18].

(Je ne cite pas le v. 1846 parce que là, avec quelque subtilité, on peut attacher une autre valeur à *que*.)

Puignent ad ait li barun de France;
N'i ad icel ne demeint irance
Que il ne sunt a Rollant le cataigne.

Et, bien entendu, le v. 4002 ne saurait être cité comme preuve.)

¹ Voir le Glossaire de l'éd. de Léopold Constans, t. V, pp. 263-64.

Si tous ces exemples du sens "car" ou "parce que" ne sont pas assez nombreux pour être tout à fait convaincants, on pourra en étudier d'autres encore dans Godefroy ou dans des textes que Godefroy n'a pas cités mais qui en fourniront assez pour démontrer que cette partie de mon interprétation aussi repose sur une base solide. En un mot, tout se tient et, à moins que ce vers tant discuté ne représente un faux (supposition gratuite) ou une grosse bévue de la part de quelque scribe (qui néanmoins se trouve avoir exprimé une idée claire et justifiée par ce que nous savons de la langue), à mon avis, il faut, jusqu'à preuve linguistique contraire, nous rendre à ces faits linguistiques, quelles que soient les conceptions préalables que nous ayons formées en étudiant les aspects littéraires du *Roland* et d'autres chansons de geste. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'un document reconnu authentique, il faut que toute conclusion soit subordonnée à ce que nous impose la langue, et non pas le contraire. Cependant, prévoyant certaines objections non linguistiques à une interprétation qui trouvera, peut-être, autant d'incrédules que de convaincus, je tâcherai dès maintenant d'y répondre, quitte à considérer plus tard d'autres objections probables mais imprévues:

1^o Comment se représenter un homme qui après avoir écrit un merveilleux poème de 4002 vers nous déclare dans le dernier qu'il s'arrête parce qu'il est à son déclin ?

Comment sait-on, comment prouver, que ce qui est appelé ainsi "le dernier vers" (en réalité, le v. 4001) le dû être aussi pour l'auteur ? N'y a-t-il pas là une pétition de principe ? Qu'est-ce qui empêchait cet auteur de s'arrêter immédiatement après son récit de la mort de Ganelon (v. 3974) ? ou bien, immédiatement après celui de la conversion de Bramimonde (v. 3987), épisode plus ou moins intéressant mais qui, avec les quelques vers qui le préparent (634-41), n'est nullement indispensable à la marche ou à la construction du poème ? Supposons maintenant qu'ayant achevé son récit de la mort de Ganelon (3974), ou bien celui de la conversion de Bramimonde (3987), notre auteur, ayant encore dans l'esprit quelque chose à raconter, mais se sentant faible de santé, se fût avisé de dire *Ci falt la geste, que Tuoldus declinet*, la même objection ne resterait-elle pas tout aussi logique ? et qui pourrait savoir qu'il eût jamais songé à écrire son

épisode de Bramimonde ? ou, qu'ayant composé cet époside, il eût songé à inventer l'exhortation de Saint Gabriel à Charlemagne ?

Maintenant, qu'est-ce qui précède immédiatement le v. 4002 du poème tel que nous l'a légué le scribe ? Saint Gabriel exhorte Charlemagne à repartir pour une nouvelle croisade contre les païens.

"Deus," dit li reis, "si penuse est ma vie!"

Pluret des oilz, sa barbe blanche tiret.

Et, on peut se demander, est-ce là tout ce qu'il fait ? S'en tient-il à se tirer la barbe ? A mon sens, le poète, l'homme capable d'écrire ce "merveilleux poème," aurait pu et aurait dû ajouter d'autres épisodes, appartenant à cette nouvelle croisade, mais

Ci falt la geste, que Tuoldus declinet.

2° Où trouver un exemple d'un pareil procédé ?—c'est-à-dire de celui que le présent interprète croit trouver au v. 4002 ?

Dans certains livres célèbres, que je pourrais citer et dont l'histoire est bien connue, on trouve des contradictions apparentes ou réelles, ou d'autres choses difficiles, parfois même impossibles, à expliquer, qui n'en sont pas moins dues aux auteurs mêmes. Faut-il fournir dans chaque cas pareil un autre cas analogue pour en prouver l'authenticité ? Logiquement, ce serait exiger une chaîne d'analogies sans fin ; à mon avis, rien ne nous oblige à trouver un second exemple d'un pareil procédé, ni plus ancien ni plus récent.¹ Mais, s'il s'agit de trouver un second exemple d'un pareil procédé, quelle autre épopée se termine par un vers pareil, quelque interprétation qu'on en donne ?

3° A supposer qu'on trouve un second exemple analogue, il resterait ceci : si Tuoldus nous déclare qu'il s'arrête parce qu'il est à son déclin, Tuoldus nous déclare ce qui n'est pas : il s'arrête, non pas parce qu'il est à son déclin mais *parce que son poème est fini*.

Il me semble que nous n'avons qu'à répéter ici les questions et les remarques que j'ai faites à propos de la première objection (1°), mais affirmer ainsi que "si Tuoldus nous déclare qu'il s'arrête parce qu'il est à son déclin" etc. (3°), n'est-ce pas affirmer comme certain

¹ Pour ne citer que Dante et François Villon, à quoi aboutirait-on s'il fallait trouver "un [autre] exemple d'un pareil procédé" dans tous les cas où ces deux auteurs vont à l'encontre des habitudes littéraires de leurs époques ou d'autres époques dont les habitudes littéraires auraient pu dominer, aussi bien que guider, leurs procédés ?

précisément ce qu'il faudrait démontrer, autant qu'on peut démontrer une affirmation d'ordre esthétique ou personnel ? n'est-ce pas affirmer aussi qu'on sait, je dis qu'on sait, que l'auteur, également, n'a jamais cru pouvoir continuer son poème ? qu'il n'a jamais songé à le continuer ?

Il se peut que mon interprétation de *Ci falt la geste que Turoldus declinet* soulève d'autres objections qu'il serait plus difficile de combattre ; si l'on me prouve que j'ai tort, il ne me restera qu'un désir de savoir la vérité.¹

RICHARD T. HOLBROOK

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
MAI-JUILLET, 1923

¹ Je me permets d'attirer l'attention du lecteur sur le passage (plus haut, p. 162⁼⁼) qui commence par "En un mot, tout se tient" et qui finit par les mots "et non pas le contraire."

Si mon interprétation du v. 4002 est correcte, elle semble imposer la conclusion que Turoldus était l'auteur de la *Chanson de Roland*. Oui, mais, demandera-t-on, qui était Turoldus. Pour le moment, je dois me limiter à ce qui est dit dans le présent article, mais il faut que je mentionne, pour que tous mes lecteurs sachent que j'en ai tenu compte, les travaux de Wilhelm Tavernier (*ZRPh.*, 1917, 99-107, 412-46), de P. Boissonnade et de T. Atkinson Jenkins, qui parlera dans son édition du *Roland* (sous presse) de l'identité de Turoldus.

Dans la *Zeitschrift* (XXVIII), Tavernier a commencé une série d'articles où, entre autres choses, il a cherché à établir que notre Turoldus et un certain Turolodus (ou Turaldus) d'Envermeu, qui figure en 1091 comme chapelain de Guillaume II, Duc de Normandie, plus tard comme évêque de Bayeux, et qui portait le sobriquet "Papelleon" (Papillon) étaient la même personne. Tavernier paraît avoir disparu pendant la grande guerre ; en tout cas, ses articles sont restés inachevés ou inédits.

Boissonnade (*Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, publié vers la fin de 1922) remet aux dernières pages de son livre (454 ss.) un chapitre intitulé "Les Discussions sur l'identité de l'auteur," etc. Selon Boissonnade, "Une solution de ce délicat problème [le vrai sens du v. 4002] nous est suggérée par les pénétrantes recherches que Faral a consacrées aux jongleurs. En écartant l'hypothèse d'un simple copiste, qui n'a presque aucun partisan, on résout en effet la difficulté, si l'on admet que le personnage nommé à la fin de la *Chanson de Roland* était à la fois auteur et récitant, clerc et jongleur."

A l'avis de Boissonnade, la *Chanson de Roland* "ne peut être antérieure à 1120" (*op. cit.*, p. 432) et l'année 1124 (il souligne ceci) "est la date la plus précise [comme terminus ad quem] au-dessous de laquelle il n'est guère possible de faire descendre la publication de la *Chanson de Roland*."

Je renvoie aux pages suivantes de son ouvrage : 83, 85, 88-89, 137, 140, 142, 151, 231, 237-39, 274, 295, 321, 325-36, 337, 355, 429, 431-43, et 454-58 *passim*.

THE SUPPOSED PRIMITIVISM OF ROUSSEAU'S *DISCOURSE ON INEQUALITY*

The notion that Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality* was essentially a glorification of the state of nature and that its influence tended wholly or chiefly to promote "primitivism" is one of the most persistent of historical errors. Many examples of it might be cited;

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¹ *History of Political Theories*, III (1920), pp. 8-9.

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The notion that Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality* was essentially a glorification of the state of nature and that its influence tended wholly or chiefly to promote "primitivism" is one of the most persistent of historical errors. Many examples of it might be cited; I limit myself to one, chosen not only because it is the most recent, but also because it is found in what is likely to be for many years to come the standard English treatise on the history of political theories, a monumental work by a scholar of admirable learning. In the *Discourse on Inequality*, wrote the late Professor W. A. Dunning:

The natural man was first the solitary savage, living the happy, carefree life of the brute. The steps by which men emerged from their primitive state are depicted with fascinating art, but the author's regret at their success pervades the picture. . . . Throughout the fluctuations of his usage, one idea alone appeared unmistakable, viz., that the natural state of man was vastly preferable to the social or civil state, and must furnish the norm by which to test and correct it.¹

This is an exceptionally moderate statement of the traditional view of the *Second Discourse*; but it appears to me to be highly misleading, especially in what it implies as to the sort of ideas which that writing tended to encourage in Rousseau's contemporaries. The actual doctrine of the *Discourse*, its relation to other conceptions of the state of nature, the character of the influence upon opinion which it must have had in its time, and the features of it which must be regarded as constituting its chief historic significance, I shall attempt to show in what follows.

As in so many other cases, confusion has arisen in this matter partly through a neglect to note the ambiguity of the terms employed in the discussion. The term "state of nature" has at least three easily distinguishable senses. It may have a merely chronological signification and refer to the primeval condition of man, whatever

¹ *History of Political Theories*, III (1920), pp. 8-9.

its characteristics. In the terminology of political theory it means the status of human individuals or groups who in their relations to one another are not subject to the authority of any government. Finally, it may be used—and in the eighteenth century was often used—in what may be called a cultural sense, to designate the state in which the arts and sciences—civilization in its non-political elements—had made least progress. These three senses were not necessarily identical in denotation. It was, indeed, usually assumed that the earliest stage was a pre-political one; but it did not follow that the primitive stage, in the cultural sense, was coextensive with the pre-political stage. The period preceding the organization of the political state might have been a very long one, in the course of which mankind might have departed very widely—whether for better or worse—from its primeval condition. The confusion of these senses is, indeed, an old one. Pufendorf's definition, for example, combines the cultural with the juristic criteria; the "state of nature," in contrast with the "adventitious state," is for him not only "such a state as we may conceive man to be placed in by his bare nativity, abstracting from all rules and institutions, whether of human invention or of the inspiration or revelation of heaven"; it is also "a state in which the divers sorts of arts, with all the commodities of life in general," are lacking.¹ In Locke, on the other hand, the conception of "the natural state of mankind" is mainly a juristic one. It was, moreover, a commonplace of political philosophy in these centuries that the juristic "state of nature"—whether or not it had ever actually existed in the past, in the relations between individuals—certainly existed at that very time in the relations to one another of sovereign states having no common law or government. This obviously implies nothing as to the cultural condition of the countries concerned.

The oddly neglected facts which I wish to point out, with regard to Rousseau's *Discourse*, are that the juristic state of nature—the period prior to the establishment of civil government—was by him divided into four distinct cultural stages, all of them of long duration; that in his terminology in this writing the term "state of nature" usually refers, not to the pre-political state as a whole, but to the *first*

¹ *Law of Nature and of Nations*, Book I, chap. I.

of these cultural stages; that this first stage—the “state of nature” in his own sense—is not regarded by him as an ideal state; that the third stage, which is for him no more primitive culturally than chronologically, is the condition in which he regrets that mankind did not remain; that he cannot properly be said to maintain the excellence of the state of nature in the purely juristic sense, inasmuch as that state, according to his argument, inevitably works itself out into a final stage of intolerable conflict and disorder; and that the *Discourse* in general represents a movement rather away from than toward primitivism. I shall also show that the characteristics of three of these stages closely correspond to, and are probably borrowed from, three different “states of nature” described by earlier writers: that his first stage, namely, is similar to the state of nature of Voltaire and substantially identical with that of Pufendorf; that the third stage is, in its cultural characteristics, approximately the same as the state of nature of Montaigne and of Pope; and that the fourth stage is the state of nature of Hobbes.

That the first phase of human history, the life of man *tel qu'il a dû sortir des mains de la nature*, was not for Rousseau an ideal condition is evident, in the first place, from the picture which he gives of it. If he had really intended to set up what he called the “state of nature” as a norm, or as “the age at which one could have wished the race had remained,” his ideal would have been explicitly that of a purely animal existence; his gospel would have been that it would be better for the featherless biped if he lived the life of a solitary wild beast. For the *Discourse* maintains with all possible definiteness that in the true state of nature man differed from other animals, not at all in his actual mode of life, but only in his yet undeveloped potentialities. *L'homme sauvage commencera par les fonctions purement animales. Apercevoir et sentir sera son premier état, qui lui sera commun avec tous les animaux.* His life, in short, was “that of an animal limited at first to mere sensation, scarcely profiting by the gifts which nature held out to him, and not even dreaming of seizing anything from her.” He lived only in and for the moment, having almost no power of forethought, as little memory, and consequently no ability to learn from experience. He possessed no language and had no use of tools or weapons. No social bonds united men; not even the herd, to say

nothing of the family, as yet existed. The young remained for a relatively brief period (compared with the prolonged helplessness of children under civilization) with the mother, but once strong enough to forage for themselves, they left her and were thereafter unable to recognize even this tie of kinship. The individual, in short, lived a life *oisive, errante et vagabonde*, developing only "those faculties which were needed in attack or defense, either to overcome his prey or to protect himself from becoming the prey of other animals"—a danger always at hand. And lest there be any doubt about his meaning, Rousseau expressly contends (Note 10) that the gorilla and the chimpanzee,¹ whose manner of existence had been described by travelers in Africa, are probably a portion of the human species who still remain *dans l'état primitif de nature*, are "veritable savage men whose race, dispersed at some early period in the forest, has never had occasion to develop any of its latent faculties." The only difference, indeed, between primitive man and the gorilla discoverable in Rousseau's pages is favorable to the latter animal, since, as described by Rousseau's authorities, it represents a stage definitely higher than the truly primeval condition of mankind, as described by Rousseau himself. Those who set forth the doctrine of the *Discourse* in the manner still usual in histories of literature, philosophy, and political theory, must be supposed to have neglected to read, or to have entirely forgotten, Rousseau's Note 10. In this same note, it is worth remarking, Rousseau appears as the herald of the science of anthropology. He laments that the knowledge of his day concerning both gorillas and savage tribes is derived mainly from travelers' tales and the relations of missionaries; the former are proverbially mendacious, and the missionaries, however well-intentioned, are scarcely *bons observateurs*; "for the study of man there are requisite gifts which are not always the portion of the saints." Rousseau therefore calls upon the scientific academies to send expeditions composed of trained and genuinely "philosophical" observers to "all savage countries," in order that, upon their return, such investigators

¹ It is clearly to these animals that Rousseau refers, though he supposes them to be the same as "the animals called *orang-outangs* in the East Indies." His knowledge of these African apes is derived from the original description of them by the English sailor Battel, given in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1614) and reproduced in the *Histoire générale des voyages*.

"may compose at leisure an *histoire naturelle, morale et politique* of what they have seen." By such a study a whole "new world," he declares, would be disclosed, and by means of it we should "learn to understand our own."¹

It was, then, a primary object of the *Discourse* to identify the state of nature with the state of the brute. The sketch of the manners and customs of the natural man drawn by Rousseau is, when analyzed, no more attractive than that given in the principal early eighteenth-century satire upon primitivism, Voltaire's *Le Mondain* (1736):

Quand la nature était dans son enfance,
Nos bons aïeux vivaient dans l'ignorance,
Ne connaissant ni le *tien* ni le *mien*:
Qu'auraient-ils pu connaître? ils n'avaient rien. ...
Il leur manquait l'industrie et l'aisance:
Est-ce vertu? c'était pure ignorance. ...
Le repas fait, ils dorment sur la dure:
Voilà l'état de la pure nature.

Rousseau's *état primitif* differed from this only in that it was a still more brutish condition. It is almost identical with the unfavorable picture of the state of nature presented by Pufendorf, of the French translation of whose work a new edition had appeared only a few years before.² Many philosophers, as Rousseau justly enough points out, had arrived at their conception of man in the state of nature by

¹ Note 10 and much more of the same kind throughout the *Discourse* seem to me fatal to a view expressed by M. Durkheim (*Rev. de Métaphysique*, XXV, 4) and apparently given some support by Mr. Vaughan—viz., that Rousseau was not attempting a hypothetical reconstruction of the early history of civilization, and was therefore not interested in historical facts, but was merely presenting in a picturesque way a psychological analysis of certain permanent factors in human life. The term "state of nature" according to this view, does not designate a stage in social evolution; it is an expression for "those elements of human nature which derive directly from the psychological constitution of the individual" in contrast with those which are of social origin. The only evidence for this is the passage near the beginning in which Rousseau disclaims any pretension to offer *vérités historiques*. The context, however, shows that this disclaimer is merely the usual lightning-rod against ecclesiastical thunderbolts; it would, says Rousseau, be inadmissible to regard the state of nature as a fact "because it is evident from a reading of the sacred books that the first man was not in this state," etc. In reality, Rousseau was keenly interested in tracing the succession of phases through which man's intellectual and social life has passed; but he recognized that the knowledge of his time permitted only *raisonnements hypothétiques* on the subject.

² *Droit de la Nature et des Gens* (6th ed., 1750), Book II, chap. I, §2. The similarity has been pointed out by Morel, *Ann. de la Soc. J.-J. Rousseau* (1909), p. 163. Pufendorf, however, is less thorough and consistent than Rousseau in the recognition of the pure animality of man in this state. "L'usage de la raison," he writes in a later passage, is "inséparable de l'état de nature" (*ibid.*, §9).

a pure process of idealization, had conceived of him as "himself a philosopher discovering unaided the most sublime truths." Rousseau prides himself upon his adherence to a more realistic method, upon a more faithful and less flattering picture of the genuinely natural and truly primitive. And such a picture shows us, not the benignant primeval sage animated by *maximes de justice et de raison tirés de l'amour de l'ordre en général*; shows us not even beings like Montaigne's "Cannibals," who were "less barbarouss than we, *eu esgard aux regles de la raison*"; it shows us, says Rousseau, creatures characterized by the last degree of *pesanteur et stupidité*, and destitute of moral ideas of any kind.

True, Rousseau points out certain very real advantages enjoyed by the human species in this initial phase of its evolution. If primitive man was merely a lazy and stupid animal, he was at least a healthy, a happy, and a comparatively harmless animal. It is when rhapsodizing over the physical superiority of early man that Rousseau falls into the often-quoted language which probably has done most to give hasty readers the impression that he identifies the state of nature with the ideal state. After tracing the physical disorders of modern mankind to the luxuries and artificialities of civilization, Rousseau continues:

Such is the melancholy evidence that we might have avoided almost all the ills we suffer from, if we had kept to the simple, uniform, and solitary existence prescribed to us by nature. If she intended us to be healthy, I venture almost to affirm that the state of reflection is a state contrary to nature and that the man who thinks (*médite*) is a man depraved.

But the proposition, it must be noted, is hypothetical, and in the final summing-up Rousseau does not assert the hypothesis; he does not hold that physical health is the sole or chief end of nature with regard to man. That the sentences quoted refer only to physical well-being is made certain by Rousseau's own remark at the end of the passage: "I have thus far been considering only *l'homme physique*."

Primitive man was also happier than his civilized successors, Rousseau undeniably maintains. He maintains it on the grounds on which many would still maintain that the animals in general experience less suffering than man. The primeval *bête humaine*, living in the moment, was untroubled either by regrets or by fears of coming

evil. His powers and satisfactions, though few and meager, were commensurate with his few and simple desires. Since self-esteem had not yet waked in him, it was his body alone that was vulnerable; he knew nothing of the deeper and more septic wounds of vanity, or of the torment of unsatisfied ambition. Having no ideas of moral obligation, he was as little subject to the reproaches of conscience as he was disturbed by its incitements. Having no affections, he was untouched by sorrow. There is nothing particularly paradoxical about this. That men are, in Rousseau's sense, less happy than dogs or sheep, is a familiar, almost a platitudinous, conjecture, and not lacking in plausibility, though somewhat difficult of proof. Rousseau's thesis about the happiness of the state of nature has essentially the same meaning. And just as the admission of the former conjecture does not imply that one would, on the whole, prefer to be a dog or a sheep, so Rousseau's thesis does not necessarily imply a preference for the condition of the truly natural man. Later in the *Discourse* he expressly declares that for man "to place himself on the level of the beasts, which are the slaves of instinct," would be to "degrade his nature."

True it is, also, that Rousseau asserts the "goodness" of man in his primitive state; but how little this means has been shown by others, notably by Professor Schinz.¹ That in the state of nature man has not the status of a moral agent, Rousseau plainly tells us: *les hommes dans cet état n'ayant entre eux aucune sorte de relation morale ni de devoirs connus*. The doctrine of *la bonté naturelle*, so far as the *Second Discourse* is concerned, could best be expressed in English by the proposition that man was originally a non-moral but good-natured brute. He was not *méchant*, not malicious nor wantonly cruel. Against Hobbes's assertion that "all men in the state of nature have a desire and will to hurt," Rousseau maintains that primitive man (like some other animals) had "an innate repugnance to see others of his kind suffer."² In the course of social development, Rousseau finds, if man has learned more about the nature of the good, he has

¹ A. Schinz, "La Notion de vertu dans le Premier Discours de J.-J. Rousseau," *Mercure de France*, XCVII (Ier. juin, 1912), 532-55; cf. also "La Théorie de la bonté naturelle de l'homme chez Rousseau," *Revue du XVIIIe siècle*, I (Oct.-déc., 1913), 433-47.

² As will be shown below, however, Rousseau does not really join issue with Hobbes here, for he was not dealing with the same "state of nature."

lost much of his primitive good nature; his progress in moral knowledge has been accompanied by a weakening of his animal instinct of sympathy—and the former has unhappily, Rousseau is persuaded, proved a less efficacious means of preventing men from injuring their fellows. Primitive man killed when necessary to procure food or in self-defense; but he invented no instruments of torture and he waged no wars.

In spite of these desirable aspects of the state of nature, it would be scarcely conceivable—even if we had no direct statement of Rousseau's upon the point—that he should have wished his readers to understand that he regarded as the ideal existence for man a state of virtual idiocy—the life of a completely unintelligent, unsocial, and non-moral though good-natured beast, such as was realistically portrayed in his version of the natural state of man.¹ Jean-Jacques was doubtless more or less mad, but he was not so mad as that; and if he had been, it is certain that no such teaching would have been taken seriously by his contemporaries.

The *Discourse*, it is true, is characterized by a great deal of wavering between conflicting tendencies. There was, on the one hand, the tendency (which had been dominant, though not unchallenged, for some two centuries among thinkers emancipated from theological tradition) to employ the adjective "natural" as the term of highest possible eulogy, and to assume that man "as he came from the hands of nature" must have been the model of what "nature" intended, a being of uncorrupted rationality, knowing intuitively all essential moral and religious truths, and completely furnished for all good works:

Nor think in Nature's state they blindly trod;
The State of Nature was the reign of God:
Self-love and social at her birth began,
Union the bond of all things, and of man.²

This sort of philosophy of history was of the essence of deism: no religious beliefs could be true, or at all events none could be important, which could not be supposed to have been evident to man

¹ Since writing the above I find that M. Lanson has made substantially the same remark: "If we are to conceive of the man of nature as resembling the orang-outang, can we suppose that Rousseau seriously desired to make us retrogress to that point?" (*Ann. de la Soc. J.-J. Rousseau*, VIII [1912], 12).

² Pope, *Essay on Man*, III, 147-50.

from the beginning. This was the meaning of the thesis embodied in Tindal's title: "Christianity," identified with natural religion, was "as Old as the Creation," i.e., known to the earliest men; it would not have been "natural" if it had not been. The idea of the "noble savage," whether primitive or contemporary, was a natural and usually recognized corollary from this assumption. Now Rousseau, even when writing of his first stage, was not unaffected by this tradition, though he was working himself free from it; though his "state of nature" was essentially different from the older conception, and was not likely to be taken seriously by anyone as an ideal, he was not yet wholly emancipated from the assumption of the excellence of the "natural" as such. And thus, with his characteristic eagerness to put the point he is at the moment making as forcibly as possible, he sometimes writes what, taken apart from their general context, sound like enthusiastic eulogies of the primitive state. The opposition between this and the contrary tendency consequently sometimes approaches, perhaps in one passage in the preamble reaches, the point of actual contradiction. But the historian of ideas has performed but a small part of his task when he points out such an opposition of tendencies, or even a direct contradiction, in a historically important writing. What is essential is to see from what influences and prepossessions the opposing strains in the author's thought arose; to observe their often complex interplay; to note which was the prevailing and more characteristic tendency; above all, to determine when the author is merely repeating current commonplaces, and when he is expressing new insights not yet perfectly disentangled from traditional ideas. It is, in short, needful to know not only where a writer stands, but in which direction he is heading. Now it was the primitivistic strain that was (contrary to the usual supposition) the traditional and imitative side of the content of the *Discourse*. The relatively innovating side of it consisted in a repainting of the portrait of the true child of nature so that he appeared in a much less pleasing guise, even though a few of the old features were left.

How far from idyllic is Rousseau's picture of the state of nature may be seen, finally, from his account of the causes which brought this phase of the history of our race to an end. The explanation is couched in somewhat Darwinian terms, a hundred years before Darwin. As

the species increased in numbers, Rousseau observes, there arose between it and other species a formidable struggle for existence. He clearly distinguished the three aspects of such a *concurrence vitale*: the growing insufficiency of readily accessible food-supply, the competition of other animals, both frugivorous and carnivorous, for the means of subsistence which they shared with man, and the direct attacks of carnivorous animals. This struggle, Rousseau intimates, might have ended in the elimination of our species, if man had been able to fight only with tooth and claw. But under the pressure of necessity, another endowment, which is *le caractère spécifique de l'espèce humaine*, began to manifest itself—intelligence, in its several elements and manifestations; a power which, meager enough at first, is yet capable of an “almost unlimited” development. Because it is thus the distinguishing character of man among the animals, and because its unfolding is gradual and progressive, Rousseau calls it the *faculté de se perfectionner*, or, for short, “perfectibility.” At the outset its functions were purely practical; it was simply a means of survival. It enabled man to invent primitive weapons and rudimentary tools, to discover the art of making fire, and to adapt himself to diversities of climate and food in the new environments to which he was forced by increase of population to migrate. Thus the moment at which man first manifested the previously latent attribute distinctive of the nature of his species was, in Rousseau’s terminology, the moment at which his emergence from the state of nature began.

From this account of the first stage alone it is easy to see that the *Discourse*, so far from strengthening the primitivistic illusion, tended to weaken it. Though it shows sufficiently plain vestiges of the older habit of mind, it nevertheless insists that the historian of mankind must begin by supposing the human race in a state, not of primitive perfection from which it has degenerated, but in a state of pure animality, with all its *lumières*, both moral and intellectual, still to attain, through an immensely long, slow process, due primarily to environmental necessities working upon an originally dormant capacity for the exercise of intelligence. Thus to the conviction of the undesirability of the true state of nature, already found in Voltaire and Pufendorf, was added the idea of a law of necessary and gradual progress through natural causes. This combination of

ideas was not new in 1755. It had, indeed, been the central issue in a celebrated controversy which had lately agitated the learned world, the affair of the Abbé de Prades; and, as M. Morel has well shown,¹ Rousseau in this part of the *Discourse* is simply developing conceptions presented by Diderot in his *Apologie de l'Abbé de Prades*, 1752, and in the *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*, 1754. What was significant in the *Discourse* was that through it Rousseau aligned himself with the partisans of a new movement, a veritable *philosophie nouvelle*, as Diderot had called it—a movement essentially antagonistic to the current primitivism as well as to religious orthodoxy. The *Discourse*, in short, is chiefly notable in the history of ideas as an early contribution to the formulation and diffusion of an evolutionary conception of human history. It has other aspects, some of them partly incongruous with this; but this is obviously the most significant, since it was a manifestation of a new tendency which was destined to revolutionize modern thought.

That the *Discourse* helped to undermine the primitivistic prepossession in the minds of eighteenth-century readers may be gathered from some of the comments made upon it by Mme de Staël in 1788. "With how much finesse," she exclaims, "does Rousseau follow the progress of man's ideas! How he inspires us with admiration for the first steps of the human mind!" That his own admiration did not extend to the later steps, Mme de Staël notes; but she intimates that this was an inconsistency arising from a peculiarity of Rousseau's temperament, not a consequence of the principles which he adopted. "Rousseau ought perhaps to have acknowledged that this ardor to know and to understand was also a natural feeling, a gift of heaven, like all other faculties of men; means of happiness when they are exercised, a torment when they are condemned to inactivity."² The term "perfectibility" to which—though it was apparently invented

¹ *Ann. de la Soc. J.-J. Rousseau* (1909), pp. 135-38.

Lettres sur les écrits de Rousseau, 1788; *Œuvres*, I (1820), 15. A still better illustration of this aspect of Rousseau's influence, noted since the foregoing was written, is to be seen in one of the earliest British Rousseau enthusiasts, James Burnet, Lord Monboddo. In his *Origin and Progress of Language*, I, p. iii (1773), he says that the only philosopher who seems really to know anything of the state of nature is "Mr. Rousseau, a very great genius, in my judgment"; and, expressly following Rousseau, the Scottish writer asserts our descent from the orang-outang, and attempts to trace the gradual evolution of man's intelligence and language from the purely animal stage. On this I hope shortly to write more fully elsewhere.

by Turgot in 1750—Rousseau probably did more than anyone else to give currency, became the catchword of Condorcet and other subsequent believers in the reality, necessity, and desirability of human progress through a fixed sequence of stages, in both past and future.

Rousseau's own thought, however, is more complex and many-sided than that of his successors who drew from these conceptions ~~an~~ amiable confidence in the speedy "perfecting of the species." For, in addition to the two conflicting tendencies already noted, there is in the *Discourse* a third strain which modifies and deflects both the others in a curious way, to which Rousseau's commentators have given too little attention. This was the influence of Hobbes's conception of human nature, and in particular his account of the "passion" which is dominant in and distinctive of man. Hobbes finds that the object of our characteristically *human* desires, the sole "pleasure of the mind" (as distinct from those of the senses, which he sums up under the word "conveniences"), "is either glory (or to have a good opinion of oneself), or refers to glory in the end"; and glory "consists in comparison and precellence." "All the pleasure and jollity of the mind," he writes again, "consists in this, even to get some with whom comparing, it may find somewhat wherewith to triumph and vaunt itself." It is this craving chiefly which makes men social animals. "Men delight in each other's company" that they may "receive some honor or profit from it," may "pass the more current in their own opinion" or "leave behind them some esteem and honor with those with whom they have been conversant." "All society," in short, "is either for gain, or for glory; that is, not so much for love of our fellows as for love of ourselves."¹ But while "vain glory" thus engenders a kind of self-seeking and even malicious sociability, it is also the most frequent cause of quarrel among men. While conflicts between individuals or nations sometimes arise from actual oppositions of material interest, they arise much oftener, Hobbes thought, from this passion of self-esteem, which causes men to attack one another "for trifles, as a word, a smile, a different opinion, or any other sign of undervaluing, either direct in their persons or by reflection in their kindred, their friends, their nation, their profession, their name."

¹ *Leviathan*, chap. xiii; *Philosophical Rudiments concerning Government*, chap. 1; in Woodbridge's *The Philosophy of Hobbes in Extracts*, pp. 233-37, 240-48.

This social psychology of Hobbes, with its implication of the inherent *méchanceté* of man, we have seen Rousseau rejecting, so long as he is describing the *pur état de nature*. The original gorilla was not interested in nor conscious of the sort of figure he cut in the eyes of other animals of his kind nor in that which, in comparison with others, he cut in his own. But the "pure state of nature" for Rousseau, it must be remembered, is precisely the stage in which that which is distinctive of human nature has not yet manifested itself. When, however, man becomes differentiated from the other animals, his ruling passion and his general disposition, according to the *Discourse*, are precisely such as the philosopher of Malnesbury had described. Rousseau's theory of human nature here, in short, is identical with and manifestly derived from that of Hobbes. "It is easy to see," he too declares, "that all our labors are directed upon two objects only, namely, for oneself, the commodities of life, and consideration on the part of others." *Amour-propre*—"a sentiment which takes its source in comparison"—is "not to be confused with *l'amour de soi-même*." The latter is a natural concern for one's own interest, which is common to man and other animals; the former is a "factitious feeling, arising only in society, which leads each man to think more highly of himself than of any other." This passion began to show itself with the first moment of human self-consciousness, which was also that of the first step of human progress: as he emerged from the state of nature, man came to feel a racial pride in his superiority over the other animals.

C'est ainsi que le premier regard qu'il porta sur lui-même y produisit le premier mouvement d'orgueil; c'est ainsi que, sachant encore à peine distinguer les rangs, et se contemplant au premier par son espèce, il se préparoit de loin à y prétendre par son individu.

The same passion has ever since been, and still is, Rousseau declares, the principal source of all that is most characteristic of us, both good and bad—but chiefly bad.

It is to this universal desire for reputation, honors, and preferment, which devours us all, . . . this ardor to make oneself talked about, this fury to be distinguished, that we owe what is best and worst in men—our virtues and our vices, our sciences and our errors, our conquerors and our philosophers—in short, a vast number of evil things and a small number of good.

It is this, Rousseau in one passage goes so far as to say, "which inspires men to all the evils which they inflict upon one another."

It is the cause of the boundlessness of human desires; for while the normal desires for "commodities," for means of sensuous gratification, are limited, the craving for "distinction," for that which will feed the individual's sense of importance, pre-eminence, power, is insatiable, and infinite in the variety of the forms in which it manifests itself. Man—once he becomes truly man—is thus by his own constitution (so long as he fails to become aware of and to restrain this impulse) condemned to endless dissatisfaction, to a ceaseless pursuit of goals which when attained leave him no more content than before. Finally, *l'amour-propre* is the source of that insincerity which Rousseau finds especially odious in the emotional life and behavior of civilized men—the elaborate structure of pretense and accommodation, "keeping up appearances," simulated good will or admiration, the tribute which the vanity of one leads him to pay to the vanity of another, in order that he may receive a return in kind. Through this exclusively human type of desire, men have finally developed a strange sort of mutual parasitism in their inner existence; they have come to be beings who *savent être heureux et contents d'eux-mêmes sur le témoignage d'autrui plutôt que de leur propre*. "The savage has his life within himself; social man outside himself, in the opinion of others."¹

It is therefore as true to say that Rousseau teaches the *méchanceté naturelle*, as to say that he teaches the *bonté naturelle*, of man; and the former teaching is the more significant of the two, since it alone relates to what is *distinctive* in man's nature. It is thus evident that the doctrine of the *Discourse* is almost completely contrary to that which Professor Irving Babbitt sets forth as characteristic of Rousseau:

He puts the blame of the conflict and division of which he is conscious in himself upon the social conventions that set bounds to his temperament and impulses; once get rid of these purely artificial distinctions, and he feels that he will be one with himself and nature.²

The real source of our evils Rousseau here finds in human nature itself, and in the most characteristic of its propensities. But though

¹ This idea has been wittily elaborated by Henry James in his short story, "The Private Life." One of its characters, though a master of all the social graces, had no private life; he ceased to exist altogether when not in society—when no longer an object of the admiring attention of others.

² *Rousseau and Romanticism*, p. 79.

he holds that intellect and iniquity made their début together and have since developed together, he does not represent them as developing *pari passu*. In the earlier stages of cultural evolution, after men's emergence from the state of nature, their animal instinct of sympathy was still relatively strong, their *amour-propre* relatively weak, or lacking in means of expression; so that the progress in knowledge and power made possible by man's intellectual perfectibility was only slightly offset by the effects of his egotism. The characteristics of these stages, as Rousseau pictures them, must now be recalled.

The second stage in his *Outline of History* is a long transitional period—covering, he says, a "multitude of centuries"—in the course of which men little by little learned the use of the simpler tools and weapons, united in herds for mutual protection and for procuring food, invented language, finally developed the permanent family, and with it a first and very limited stage of the institution of property—in the form of recognized ownership by each individual of his weapons and other personal belongings, and by each family of its own cabin. The culmination of this process is Rousseau's third period, which he calls the stage of *société naissante* and (as I have indicated) clearly and repeatedly distinguishes from the pre-social "state of nature."¹ It is the patriarchal stage of human society; the only government was that of the family. Men lived in loose, unorganized village groups, gaining their subsistence by hunting or fishing and from the natural fruits of the earth, and finding their amusement in spontaneous gatherings for song and dance. That so many learned historians of literature and of political thought, and even writers of works on Rousseau, have failed to point out that this third stage, and not the state of nature, was regarded by him as the most desirable, is rather amazing, since he is perfectly explicit on the point.² The passage ought to be the most familiar in the *Dis-*

¹ There is, however, some variation in Rousseau's use of *état de nature*, which is doubtless partly responsible for the common misinterpretation. I have counted forty-four instances of the term in the *Discourse*; in twenty-nine of these it designates exclusively the first stage, that of complete animality; in four it is used in the merely juristic sense, without reference to any distinction of cultural stages; in two it covers the first three stages, and in nine cases the context does not permit a certain determination of the meaning.

² It should be said, however, that Professor Dunning (*op. cit.*) mentions this, but treats it as a mere contradiction of the dominant contention of the *Discourse*. The fact is duly recognized by Mr. Vaughan. The original misconception is well exemplified by Voltaire's famous letter to Rousseau on receiving the *Discourse* (Moland ed., XXXVIII, 446-50).

course; but as it is usually neglected, it seems needful to recall it here:

Though men had now less endurance, and though natural sympathy (*pitié*) had suffered some diminution, this period of the development of human faculties, holding a just mean between the indolence of the primitive state and the petulant activity of our self-esteem, must have been the happiest and the most lasting epoch. The more one reflects upon it, the more one perceives that it was the state least subject to revolutions, the best state for man; and that he can have departed from it only by some unhappy chance, which in the interest of the general good (*utilité*) ought never to have occurred. The example of the savages, who are nearly all found to be at this point, seems to afford further evidence that this state is the veritable youth of the world; and that all subsequent advances have been, in appearance so many steps towards the perfection of the individual, in reality towards the decrepitude of the species.

It is to be borne in mind, however, that this patriarchal and communistic society, supposed to correspond to the cultural condition of existing savage tribes, was what a number of writers before Rousseau had meant by the "state of nature." Rousseau's account of it is not very dissimilar to the passage—quoted in part by Shakespeare in *The Tempest*—in which Montaigne describes the pleasant life of the "Cannibals"—i.e., the Carib Indians—except for the anthropophagy, which Montaigne treats as a trifling peccadillo of his children of nature. Pope's "state of nature," though it confusedly mingles several stages which Rousseau definitely distinguishes, in the main also corresponds broadly to Rousseau's third stage.

It may, therefore, perhaps appear at first that the distinction between Rousseau's view and that of such precursors is merely terminological—that his ideal is what *they* called the state of nature, though he prefers to apply that expression to another condition of human life. And it is, indeed, true that in his praise of the third stage Rousseau is merely singing an old song, which all the long line of sentimental eulogists of the noble savage had sung before him. Yet the distinction between his position and theirs is much more than verbal. What the *Discourse* asserted was that this best condition of mankind was *not* primitive and was *not*, properly speaking, "of nature," but was the product of art, i.e., of a conscious exercise of man's contriving intelligence, in its slow and arduous develop-

ment. The third stage was not invested with the glamour of the sacred adjective "natural"; you could not say of it, as Montaigne had said of the savage *moeurs* which he so enthusiastically depicted,

Hos natura modos primum dedit.

For Rousseau, in short, man's good lay in departing from his "natural" state—but not too much; "perfectibility" up to a certain point was desirable, though beyond that point an evil. Not its infancy but its *jeunesse* was the best age of the human race. The distinction between such a view and a thoroughgoing primitivism may seem to us slight enough; but in the mid-eighteenth century it amounted to an abandonment of the stronghold of the primitivistic position.

Nor is this the whole of the difference. As compared with the then-conventional pictures of the savage state, Rousseau's account even of his third stage is far less idyllic; and it is so because of his fundamental unfavorable view of human nature *quâd* human. Though the coloring is not uniform, there is a large admixture of black in *his* picture; his savages are quite unlike Dryden's Indians—

Guiltless men, that danced away their time,
Fresh as their groves and happy as their clime—

or Mrs. Aphra Behn's natives of Surinam who "represented [to her] an absolute idea of the first state of innocence, before man knew how to sin." The men in Rousseau's "nascent society" had *déjà bien des querelles et des combats*; *l'amour propre* was already manifest in them, as a necessary consequence of their transcendence of the purely animal stage; and slights or affronts were consequently visited with *vengeances terribles*. Already, too—from the same motive—men had begun to desire objects, not for their real utility, but merely to feel the pride of possession; objects, therefore, "privation of which was much more cruel than the possession of them was enjoyable."

Here, once more, it is true, there is in Rousseau a conflict of tendencies which approaches self-contradiction. But here also it is not difficult either to determine which tendency is the more distinctive, or to see how, in a measure, he reconciles the conflict. It is the dark part of the picture, resulting from his assumption of a radically evil element in human nature, which is the exceptional and sig-

nificant aspect of his account of the third stage; the other part represents a more conventional strain of eighteenth-century thought. And the reason why he regards this stage not as perfect but as the best actually attainable condition of human life is that the two characteristic assumptions of the *Discourse* forced him to a compromise. Those assumptions, as we have seen, are that primitive man was healthy, placid, and good-natured, but absolutely stupid, non-social, and non-moral; and that civilized man is highly intelligent and morally responsible, but profoundly *méchant*, insincere, restless, and unhappy. Rousseau could not bring himself to accept either extreme as his ideal; the obvious way out, therefore, was to regard the mean between these extremes as the best state possible. In the third stage, men were less good-natured and less placid than in the state of nature, but were also less stupid and less unsocial; they were less intelligent and had less power over nature than civilized man, but were also less malicious and less unhappy. In thus regarding the state of savagery, which some had called the "state of nature," not as a kind of natural perfection, an absolute norm, but as a mixed condition, intermediate between two extremes equally undesirable, Rousseau once more differed profoundly from his primitive predecessors.

With the causes which brought the third stage to a close we are not concerned here; Rousseau, as everyone knows, found them in the introduction of agriculture and metallurgy, which led to the establishment of private property in land, to the accumulation of capital, and to an ever increasing inequality in the wealth and power of individuals. What is pertinent to the theme of this paper is to point out that his fourth phase of human evolution, thus unhappily ushered in, was in essentials the same as the "natural condition of mankind" which had been described by Hobbes. Rousseau differed from Hobbes merely in holding that this condition was not primitive; in tracing the gradual process through which mankind had come into it; and in definitely placing it after the invention of agriculture and the beginning of private property. But these were minor considerations from Hobbes's point of view; his essential contention was that the state immediately preceding the establishment of political society through a social compact—the state into which any civilized society

would revert if all law and government were removed—is one in which men, animated by “a mutual will of hurting,” would necessarily be involved in universal conflict, latent or overt—in a *bellum omnium contra omnes*. Similarly Rousseau tells us that in the fourth, or last pre-political, stage, “devouring ambition, eagerness to improve their relative fortune, less through real need than to make themselves superior to others,” inspired in all men *un noir penchant à se nuire mutuellement*. “The state of nascent society gave place to a most horrible state of war,” in which “none, whether rich or poor, found any security.” The implications, in short, of the conception of human nature which Rousseau had learned from Hobbes become fully evident only in his description of his fourth stage; they have hitherto, so to say, been held in abeyance, but are now permitted to work themselves out, with the natural consequence that we have in this part of the *Discourse* little more than a replica of the state of nature pictured in the *Leviathan*.

In the end, then, it is this Hobbesian and Mandevillian social psychology that—even more than the primitivistic tradition represented by Montaigne and Pope—prevented the evolutionistic tendency in the thought of the *Discourse* from issuing in a doctrine of universal progress, in a faith in *perfectibilité*. Man being the kind of creature that he is, the inevitable culmination of the process of social development is a state of intolerable evil. For the violence and universal insecurity characteristic of the fourth stage, the political state was, says Rousseau, invented as a remedy. But it was not invented in good faith; it was a trick of the rich, designed merely to protect their property and still further extend their power. Its final effect was to add political inequality, and thus new occasions of rivalry and conflict between classes, to the economic inequality already existing—a consistent deduction from Hobbes's premises, though very different from Hobbes's own. The remedy, in short, Rousseau held, served only to aggravate the disease. Such is the pessimistic conclusion of the *Discourse*. But in his next writing on the subject—the *Contrat Social*, especially the first draft of it, which according to Vaughan, “probably goes back to a date shortly before or shortly after the *Discourse*”—the evolutionary conceptions conspicuous in the latter, but there entangled with incongruous tend-

encies, reach clear and unqualified expression. *Never* in the past, Rousseau now declares, has there been an ideal condition of human society:

La douce voix de la nature n'est plus pour nous un guide infaillible, ni l'indépendance que nous avons reçue d'elle, un état désirable; la paix et l'innocence nous ont échappé pour jamais, *avant que nous en eussions goûté les délices*. Insensible aux stupides hommes des premiers temps, échappée aux hommes éclairés des temps postérieurs, *l'heureuse vie de l'âge d'or fut toujours un état étranger à la race humaine*.¹

No exception, it will be observed, is made even for the third stage of the *Discourse on Inequality*. As for the state of nature—already repudiated, as we have seen, in the *Discourse*—Rousseau now still more emphatically declares that man's emergence from it was the beginning of his long march towards his highest good. The continuance of such a condition would have been *nuisible au progrès de nos plus excellentes facultés*. So long as men lived without definite and lasting social ties their *entendement* could never have developed:

Nous vivrions sans rien sentir, nous mourrions sans avoir vécu; tout notre bonheur consisterait à ne pas connaître notre misère; il n'y aurait ni bonté dans nos coeurs ni moralité dans nos actions, et nous n'aurions jamais goûté le plus délicieux sentiment de l'âme, qui est l'amour de la vertu.

The premises of the argument here, it should be noted, lie wholly in the two ideas which I have pointed out as the significant and relatively novel features of the *Discourse*: (a) the identification of the *état primitif*, not with a state of idyllic savagery, but with one of utter stupidity and animality; (b) the conception of the subsequent stages of human history as a process of gradual *perfectionnement* of man's distinctive faculty of intelligence. But the Hobbesian influence, though it has not entirely disappeared, has greatly diminished; Rousseau no longer insists that man's intellectual progress is inevitably accompanied by an intensification of his *amour propre*, and therefore by an increasing and incorrigible *méchanceté*. The pessimism of the concluding passage of the *Discourse* has thus been overcome by the more hopeful implications of the evolutionistic strain in that writing; and Rousseau, having now ceased to idealize *any* past stage of social development, finds his ideal in the future.

¹ First draft of *Contrat Social*; in Vaughan, *Political Writings of Rousseau*, I, 448. Internal evidence seems to me to make it improbable that this preceded the *Discourse*.

Far from thinking that there is no longer any virtue or happiness attainable by us, and that Heaven has abandoned us without resource to the depravation of the species, let us endeavor to draw from the very evil from which we suffer the remedy which shall cure it.

This remedy consists, of course, in the reorganization of society upon the basis of a properly drawn social compact. Let us then, he concludes, show the eulogist of the state of nature *toute la misère de l'état qu'il croyait heureux* and teach him to find *dans l'art perfectionné la réparation des maux que l'art commencé fit à la nature*.¹ The repudiation of primitivism in the published text of the *Contrat Social*, though less striking in expression, is not less explicit; and it too has its basis in that relatively new conception of primitive man which Rousseau had presented in the *Discourse*. The transition—of which the several intermediate stages are not now distinguished—from the *état de nature* to the *état civil* is described as a benign process,

Qui, d'un animal stupide et borné, fit un être intelligent et un homme... en substituant dans sa conduite la justice à l'instinct, et donnant à ses actions la moralité qui leur manquait auparavant.²

Yet it remains for the future to show whether the original doctrine of the *Discourse* did not contain the more profound insight into human nature and offer the truer account of the general course of human affairs. For that doctrine, as has been shown, declares that there is a dual process going on throughout history: on the one hand, an indefinite progress in all those powers and achievements which express merely the potency of man's intellect; on the other hand, an increasing estrangement of men from one another, an intensification of ill-will and mutual fear, culminating in a monstrous epoch of universal conflict and mutual destruction. And the chief cause of the latter process Rousseau, following Hobbes and Mandeville, found, as we have seen, in that unique passion of the self-conscious and social animal—pride, self-esteem, *le besoin de se mettre au-dessus des autres*. A large survey of history does not belie these generalizations, and the history of the period since Rousseau wrote lends them a melancholy verisimilitude. Precisely the two processes which he described have, during that period, been going on upon a scale beyond all precedent: immense progress in man's knowledge and in his power over nature,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

² *Contrat Social*, Book I, chap. viii.

and at the same time, a steady increase of rivalries, distrust, hatred, and at last *le plus horrible état de guerre*. At the present moment Europe and a great part of Asia offer a vivid illustration of Rousseau's fourth stage; and of the seats of older civilization, at least, it is not yet certain that he did not draw a prophetic picture, when he described how

Le genre humain, avili et désolé, ne pouvant renoncer aux acquisitions malheureuses qu'il avait faites et ne travaillant qu'à sa honte, par l'abus des facultés qui l'honorent, se mit à la veille de sa ruine.

Nor was his determination of the principal cause of the second and sinister process mistaken, except in a detail. Though he did not overlook the fact altogether, he failed to realize fully how strongly *amour-propre* tends to assume a collective form. Its more extreme individual manifestations being sharply repressed within any compact and homogeneous social group, it finds an effective substitute in group-vanity and intergroup animosity—in pride of race, of nationality, of class. This "pooled self-esteem," as a recent writer has aptly termed it,¹ is at once more difficult to control and infinitely more powerful for mischief than the individual form of the passion. But subject to this qualification, recent history and the present state of things all too abundantly confirm Rousseau's account of the part played by this motive in human events and of its potency to generate in men a *penchant à se nuire mutuellement*.

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

¹ Mr. A. Clutton-Brock in *Atlantic Monthly* (December, 1921), pp. 722-31.

STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSQUR NORDRLANDA

II. THE HERVARAR SAGA¹—*Continued*

3. *Composition of the saga in the light of version "U."*—All previous discussions of the composition of this saga suffer in marked degree from lack of recognition of the third version. In the case of disagreement of two versions it is necessary at each point to select somewhat arbitrarily what one regards as original. In the case of three, no one of which is dependent upon another, the agreement of two against one on any point should automatically establish the original beyond the possibility of subjective caprice.

In going through the contents of the saga from this point of view I have brought out conditions in *H* which suggest a composite origin for this version and even one that is secondary to the *U* and *R* versions. Such relation would not be inconsistent with the facts already ascertained by the comparison of manuscript readings particularly in the stanzas, as *H* would go back to earlier and better manuscripts of both the *U* and *R* versions than those now preserved to us and would so in a measure retain its value for the exact constitution of the text. It may even be that the writer of it had before him a manuscript of a third version as well as one each of the *U* and *R* versions. If *H* is really secondary to *U* and *R*, an agreement on any point of *H* and *U* against *R*, as of *H* and *R* against *U*, would not be absolutely conclusive as to the original content of the Hervarar saga. On the other hand, an agreement of *U* and *R* against *H* would cast decided doubt upon the reading of the latter. I have in the following given the principal points of agreement of *U* and *H* against *R*, and *U* and *R* against *H*, partly to make clearer the independent value of *U*, partly to show the secondary nature of *H*, and finally to open better the way for an adequate conception of what the original Hervarar saga actually did contain.

In the first place, on the mythological introduction *U* and *H* agree essentially, though it is lacking in *R*. It is to be noted that *U* refers

¹ *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 93, June, 1920.

to written sources for this section (or for the whole saga: *Svá finz ríttat í fornum bókum*), *H* to oral ones (*Svá er sagt*), though the point may not be of great importance. There are even here perhaps reasons for regarding *U* as in some points of divergence having better preserved the original than *H*. Arngrímr of *U*, for example, as the name of the giant whose son was Hergrímr hálftröll is possibly a better reading than the Hergrímr of *H*, which may then rest upon a copyist's error. Durinn of *U* as the name of the second dwarf may in the same way be a better reading than the Dulinn of *H* (the latter shows ablaut relation to Dvalinn, the name of the first), but this point is of little consequence.

The curse uttered by the dwarfs upon the sword Tyrfingr that it should be the instrument of three *niðingsverk* and also of the death of its first owner, Svafrlami, is common to *U* and *H*, though lacking in *R*. The requiring of the death of a human being every time it was drawn from its sheath is common to all three versions. That Sigrlami was the son of Odin or reputed so to be is stated in agreement by *U* and *H*, but lacking in *R*. That his realm was specifically Russia (Garðaríki) is confirmed by agreement of *U* and *R*, but lacking in *H*.¹ That it was Svafrlami, the son of Sigrlami, who received the sword Tyrfingr is agreed by *U* and *H*;² according to *R* it was Sigrlami himself. *H* shows later an inconsistency in having Sigrlami (instead of Svafrlami) killed by Arngrímr with his own sword Tyrfingr, perhaps as a mere slip of memory or the pen rather than through influence of an *R* manuscript. In *R* Sigrlami was not killed by Arngrímr, but the sword and Sigrlami's daughter were given peacefully to him. *U* and *H* on the contrary agree in having Svafrlami (Sigrlami in *H*) killed by Arngrímr and the booty (including the daughter) thus becoming the property of the latter. That Arngrímr resided in Bolm, an island in Hálogaland, not Hólmr as in *R*, is attested by *U* and *H*. *U* and *H* agree also in naming all twelve sons of Arngrímr, where *R* names only six. Twelve names of sons of Arngrímr are with some discrepancies also preserved in Hyndluljóð, Örvar-Odds saga, and by Saxo Grammaticus. There is nothing to show conclusively that *U* and *H* have

¹ The geography of the saga is often of the most casual value. Later on both *U* and *R* have a different royal family in Garðaríki without any indication of the connection. *H* avoids Garðaríki in both cases.

² Örvar-Odds saga also has Svafrlami as maternal grandfather of the twelve berserks.

made use of any of these other lists as compared with *R*; in fact, they probably preserve the next best list after the Hyndluljóð. It should, however, be noted that the six listed here by *R* are the same as are expressly named by both *U* and *R* in a later chapter, which tells of the death of the brothers at the hands of Hjálmar and Qrvar-Oddr. The additional sword-names of *U* and *H* may also well be original for the Hervarar saga, and the Hrotti of *U* is obviously correct as compared with the Broti of *H*. It alliterates with the name of its owner Hervarðr, and the fact that the same name occurs for the sword of Fáfnir in the prose following the Fáfnismál of the Edda and in the Völsunga saga, whence it became a poetic word for sword in general, does not refute such contention; the Mistilteinn of Semingr is similarly a reminiscence from the Baldr myth.

That it was Hjorvarðr who swore to possess the daughter of the Swedish king is agreed by *U* and *R*. *H* is of course wrong in making it Angantýr, and it later, like *U* and *R*, has the latter marry the daughter of the jarl Bjartmarr. That the Swedish princess' name was Ingibjörg, daughter of the king Yngvi at Uppsalar, is agreed by *U* and *H*. *R* calls her without name the daughter of Ingjaldr Svíakonungr at Uppsalar. She is also in the Qrvar-Odds saga Ingibjörg Ingjaldsdóttir Svíakonungs, but the designation Ingjaldr enn illráði of the Qrvar-Odds saga is somewhat dubious¹ and the name apparently of little consequence. At this point there is a peculiar afterthought entered in *H* as to the nature of Tyrfingr, that it shone when drawn from its sheath, even in the dark, that it must be sheathed with warm human blood and that whoever or whatever was wounded by it did not live until the next day. This was information furnished by *R* earlier at a point where *H* agreed with *U* as against *R*. Furthermore, the earlier statement of *H* that whenever drawn it must be the instrument of human death and the present statement that it must always be sheathed in warm human blood (together with the fatality of the wound) are pretty much repetitions of the same idea, and in *R* the two statements do follow each other, but the latter includes animals as well as men and so has some logical justification. *H* has limited to human blood (*með vörmu mannsblóði*), where the reading of *R* was *með vörmu blóði*. However, with reference to the not living

¹ Cf. Boer in note to Qrvar-Odds saga (Halle edition), chap. xvii.

until the next day *H* reads *þat*, which could include animals, as is expressly done in *R* (*Hvárki menn né kvikvendi*). That *H* has used *R* or a manuscript of its class is as clear here as the matter well could be. Such use was at this point evidently subsequent to the writing of the earlier passage in *H*, where *U* had been followed alone.

Sváfa as the name of the daughter of the jarl Bjartmarr, married to Angantýr, is substantiated by the agreement of *U* and *R* as against *H*, where she is only later in the verses named Tófa, apparently a copyist's error for Sváfa. *R* stands alone in having Angantýr and his brothers after challenge to battle on Samsey return twice to their father's home, once before and once after the trip to the jarl Bjartmarr (Bjarmarr of *R*), previous to participation in the conflict. *H* and *U* may be original in having the single return, then the episode with the jarl Bjartmarr, whence they repair directly to Samsey. *R* is also alone in having the sword Tyrfingr given by the father to Angantýr just before this feared conflict, the other two versions having much earlier stated that Angantýr possessed the sword. As to the battle itself, *H* has omitted the verses and abbreviated with a reference to the Qrvar-Odds saga, which latter might serve as a check upon the relative value of *U* and *R*. *H* does agree with *U* in having Angantýr and his brothers land on the island before the sighting of and attack upon the ships of Oddr and Hjálmar. As Oddr and Hjálmar are themselves upon land and Angantýr and his brothers after disposing of the men in the ships go ashore to attack the remaining two leaders, *H* and *U* are here evidently wrong as against the agreement of *R* and the Qrvar-Odds saga.

That it was the general will or advice that Hervor (I) should not be brought up, on the ground that womanliness was not to be expected of her if she inherited the characteristics of her father's kin, is told alike by *U* and *H*, but does not appear in *R*, though all three agree as to her masculine traits as she grows up. The episode of the thralls who retaliate for Hervor's abuse by telling her that her father was a thrall occurs in essential agreement in *U* and *R*, but is lacking together with its verses in *H*. Before the stanzas passed between Hervor and the herdsman *H* is quite alone in having a brief prose abstract of their contents. Following this it gives the verses themselves, as do *U* and *R*. This is of importance as bearing upon the failure of the two

previous sets of verses to appear in *H*. It seems clear enough that the writer, who was primarily interested in the riddles, found that he could dispense with these two sets of verses, which he evidently had at hand, and intended to do the same with the third set, but after having briefly abstracted their essential contents decided after all to copy them down. That Hervör sees the *haugbúi* standing outside of the burial mound before calling upon her father's spirit to awaken within the mound, as told by *H* alone, is of course senseless and perhaps a gratuitous addition of the writer of *H*.

In the account of the marriage of Hervör with Hǫfundr, which in *R* is lost with a missing leaf of the manuscript, *H* repeats information as to Hǫfundr which was found near the beginning of both *U* and *H*. The reason for this repetition in *H*, in spite of its general tendency to conciseness, is possibly the same as at several other places, that the statement was found at this later point in the complete manuscript of the *R* sort used by the writer of *H*, the statement not occurring at the beginning of *R*.

U and *H* agree in having Hervör give her son Heiðrekr the sword Tyrfingr before the killing of Angantýr (II), which contrasts with the later giving of the sword in *R*. In *U* and *H* Heiðrekr then kills his brother with Tyrfingr, while in *R* he kills him with a stone thrown promiscuously among the group of people of whom Angantýr is one. That a mark of gold (purse of gold in *U*) accompanied the gift of Tyrfingr is evidently original as against the later mention of the gold mark in *H*, after the giving of the advice on the occasion of the second leave-taking. *U* and *H* agree in having the banishment of Heiðrekr the result of his malicious trouble-making at the banquet, in consequence of which one of his table-companions was led to kill another; *R* alone makes it the result of his accidental (though due to malice) killing of Angantýr. *U* might conceivably be wrong as compared with *H* and *R* in having Hǫfundr give the advice to his son before the killing of Angantýr, but the latter two versions do not agree with each other as to the circumstances. That Heiðrekr returns to ask his mother to request his father to advise him, as told in *H*, is of course not original as compared with both *U* and *R*, where she asks for the advice on her own initiative. In this episode there is a maximum disagreement of the three versions, each, except perhaps *U*,

showing secondary features. The writer of *R* may have been influenced by the feeling that for Old Norse relations the starting of a brawl in which a man was killed was hardly sufficient cause for the banishment of the king's son and may have then readjusted things so that the killing of the brother, which anyhow followed the other affair, has become the cause of the banishment. *H* is secondary in having the gifts of Hervör to her son, both of which should be given at leave-taking, divided between two occasions, a somewhat characteristic feature for *H*: the sword is given at same point as in *U*, the gold mark at same point as in *R*. *U* might be secondary in bringing in Hervör's request for advice from Höfundr to Heiðrekr before the killing of Angantýr, but as the other two versions do not agree with each other on the circumstances of the advice-giving and as it is entirely natural that it should be asked for at the time the banishment was decreed, it is not impossible that *U* is right with reference to its position; that is, *U* has greater claim to being right throughout this episode than either *H* or *R*. The six counsels of *U* and *R* are doubtless original, *H* having added two to them. Both *U* and *H* agree in having Heiðrekr after a stay in the woods, where he subsisted upon the game he could shoot, decide that he must emulate the example of his famous ancestors and achieve distinction. This is lacking in *R*. In *H* it is this resolve that motivates his return and request to his mother to secure the counsels from his father. This, besides being in disagreement with the other two, is hardly consistent with the fact that even in *H* Heiðrekr receives the counsels ungraciously and does not follow them.

That the son begotten by Haraldr in his old age was named Hálfðan is stated in *U*. *R* says expressly that it has no information as to his name (*er sá ekki nefndr*). *H* does not name him at first, but later calls him Hálfðan, which seems to represent another of the cases where it has conceivably used both a manuscript of the *R* and of the *U* class.

The statement of *H* that Reiðgotaland is now called Jútland is lacking in both *U* and *R* and obviously a learned gloss like the earlier reference to the Qrvar-Odds saga of *H*, which quite accords with the origin of the *Hauksbók*, as does for that matter the evidence that it is based upon more than one manuscript of the *Hervarar* saga. It is of

decided interest that an Icelander of the old period thus interpreted *Reiðgotaland*, but has no value for the original saga and of course no possible connection with the battle of the Goths and the Huns narrated later in the saga.

In the verdict of *Höfundr* that *Heiðrekr* shall demand as recompense for the sacrifice of his son *Angantýr* (III) every other man (half the total number) in the following of the king *Haraldr*, *U* agrees with *H*. *R* is very likely not original in having it every fourth man. *H* is hardly original in leaving mention of the making of *Heiðrekr* king until *Haraldr* and his son *Hálfðan* have been formally sacrificed, though this point together with a few other minor differences in the same chapter is without great significance.

H and *R* would at first glance seem to be original in their agreement as to the trip of *Heiðrekr* to *Húnaland* before that to *Saxland*. *U* mentions it much later, after the whole episode of the new German wife of *Heiðrekr*. *Hundland* of *R* is apparently wrong against the *Húnaland* of *U* and *H*. That *Humli* was king (*konungr*) of this country is attested by agreement of *U* and *R* as against the duke (*hertogi*) of *H*. That this king's daughter was named *Sifka* is perhaps right as agreed by *H* and *R* against the *Sváfa* of *U* (*Sváfa* was the name of the daughter of the jarl *Bjartmarr*, as we have already seen). *H* shows again clearly the effect of the use of two versions in having split into two parts the episode with *Humli* of *Húnaland* and his daughter *Sifka*. *R*, as we have noted, had it before the episode with the daughter of the king of *Saxland*, *U* after it. *H* refers to the taking of the daughter of *Humli* before the *Saxland* episode, and to the plundering expedition into the land of *Humli* after it. There is no natural sense in this: the daughter was of course taken as part of the plunder, as told in both *U* and *R*. In fact *H* has in the latter place to repeat the taking of *Sifka*, which shows clearly enough the condition of manuscript *H*. The situation is further complicated by the fact that *U*, which had named the daughter of *Humli* *Sváfa*, adds another episode in which *Heiðrekr* takes a second *frilla* apparently from *Finland* (*u*'s reading is corrupt and looks like "friland," but *H* has "Finland"), whose name is *Sifka*. This episode is lacking entirely in *R* and, however one explains its presence in *U*, is much out of place in *H*, as adding still another *frilla* with the same name

Sifka as the previous one, whose capture it had already included twice. The later return of Sifka becomes necessary in *R*, as she had according to all versions been sent home to her father Humli, where she gave birth to a son, Hlǫðr. Something seems to be wrong here with all the versions, unless it be *R*. The trouble with *H* can be explained by its contamination of *U* and *R* versions noted also at several other points and very clearly indicated here. The two Sváfas of *U* can hardly be right and the bringing back of Sifka in *R* comes after one had long supposed that she was out of the saga. It is then possible that *U* is correct in having the trip to Húnaþland after that to Saxland. In all three versions it is Sifka who later fails to keep secret the confidence of Heiðrekr.

Garðaríki as the home of the foster child of Heiðrekr in *U* and *R* stands against the more specific Hólmgarðar in *H*. The king's name Hrollaugr, that of his son Herlaugr, the foster son of Heiðrekr, and that of his daughter Hergerðr are supported by agreement of *U* and *H* (*u* has *Hrollugr*, *H* *Rollaugr*) against *R*. Both *U* and *R* note that Heiðrekr was advised (by whom is not stated) not to confide anything to Sifka which he wished kept secret. The writer of *H* evidently felt that here was something which should come under the general advice of the father and adds at this late point to the eight (already two too many) counsels given by Hǫfundr as ninth that one should not intrust secrets to one's *frilla*. Heiðrekr is on an eastern expedition when invited to a banquet by Hrollaugr, according to both *U* and *H* (*H* alone makes this expedition an every-year affair). *R* has the Garðakonungr expressly invite him to come east to a banquet. The division of the followers of Heiðrekr into three detachments and their disposition before Heiðrekr appears at the banquet of Hrollaugr is perhaps original as told in *U* and *H* against its absence in *R*. That Heiðrekr himself at the banquet inquires about the king's son, his foster son, and the latter is found to be absent is agreed by *U* and *H*. *R* tells instead of the instructions of Heiðrekr to his foster son to conceal himself in a *bær* and the giving to him of a ring. Through this feature *R* sacrifices the important element of suspense. The story told to Sifka by Heiðrekr as to his encounter with a wild boar, the breaking of his spear-shaft and the drawing of Tyrfringr impresses one as original as told by both *U* and *H* against the account

of *R* that he had drawn it to cut off an apple from a tree, as desired by the boy. *R* had already told of the hunting expedition as had *U*. *U* and *H* against *R* make Sifka timid about giving the information to the queen and needing urging. *R* is also alone in having the queen suggest that the matter should be kept secret and not told further. *U* and *H* are in agreement in having the queen pass on the information to her husband as against *R*, where he gets it from Sifka. As both *U* and *R* have the king seek the information on seeing his wife's grief this is apparently original against *H*, where his wife gives him the information directly without his seeking it. *R* does not, before the fettering of Heiðrekr, mention preparations for battle on both sides. *U* and *H* further agree in having two of the king's men, the two benefited by Heiðrekr, more eager to obey the command to bind Heiðrekr than the others, while *R* has the others refuse because of the general popularity of Heiðrekr and only the two volunteer to do it. Later *H* also refers to this popularity and general refusal to bind him, which is in disagreement with its former statement and another evidence of secondary use of an *R* manuscript. The details of the battle ending in the release of Heiðrekr, who was to be hung, are told in essential agreement in *U* and *H*, but lacking in *R*. Both *U* and *H* here speak of the followers of Heiðrekr as Goths (*Gotar*). That the king's son had been kept with the followers of Heiðrekr who were concealed in the woods is attested by *U* and *H* against *R*, where Heiðrekr sends secretly for him to the *bær* where he had left him. That *H* at this point has Hrollaugr gather an army instead of taking to the woods as in *U* is inappropriate and probably due to the influence of the *R* version, which does not have Hrollaugr assemble his men until this time. In this way *H* has repeated the preparations for battle of Hrollaugr through the use of the two different versions. *R* is quite alone in having the king's son come running up to his father and begging for his foster father's life (he was to be hanged as in the other versions). In both *U* and *H* Hrollaugr had informed his wife that he had heard that their son was still alive with Heiðrekr. With reference to the giving of the king's daughter in marriage to Heiðrekr as a basis of reconciliation, this is in *R* the suggestion of the queen, in *U* it is merely the arrangement of the peace commission sent to Heiðrekr. *H* has again combined, making it first the suggestion of

the queen and then the arrangement of the peace commission. In *U* the queen had recommended the sending of the commission with plenipotentiary powers. In *R* the fighting has not yet taken place and there is accordingly no occasion for a peace commission, but only for placating the possible ill-will of Heiðrekr. The offering of the daughter is in *R* the third of a series of offers. In *U* treasure and the land Vindland go with her as her dowry; *H* also mentions Vindland as her dowry, but it is not mentioned in *R*. *U* and *R*, but not *H*, mention the wedding banquet held by Heiðrekr on his return home. *U* lacks the account of the disposition now made of Sifka. *H* and *R* agree in a general way upon it, but in *R* the broken back and her floating dead down the river effectively dispose of her, while in *H* the broken leg fails to do so.

The foster father of Hervor (II) is Ormarr, according to both *U* and *H*; the jarl Fróðmarr of England in *R* may not be original. The jury of seven in *H* rests obviously upon a wrong copying of the Roman numeral, as compared with the twelve of *U* and *R*. That the boar over which the oaths were taken was an offering to Freyr is the testimony of both *U* and *H* (the Freyja of manuscript *u* is undoubtedly a slip for Freyr) against *R*, which does not mention the fact.

The "Gestr enn blindi" of *U* against the "Gestumblindi" of both *H* and *R* must preserve the original name of this character. The form "Gestumblindi" even occurs in the verses in *H* and *R*, in the lines following each riddle. It should be noted, however, that it does not so occur in *U* and is not only unnecessary, but superfluous, as the two short verses alliterating in *g* are at hand without it, and the three alliterating short verses would deviate from the general Old Norse or in fact common Germanic alliterative-verse principle. In *U* Odin comes to play the rôle of double for Gestr without the sacrifice which calls him in *H* and *R*.

The riddles as a poetic part of the saga have been discussed to some extent in the previous chapter.¹ Further treatment of them lies outside of our present purpose, which is concerned primarily with the relations of the consecutive prose narrative. It may be noted in passing that *H* includes the words of Heiðrekr about the sharpness of wit of his opponent near the beginning, while in *U* and *R* they are,

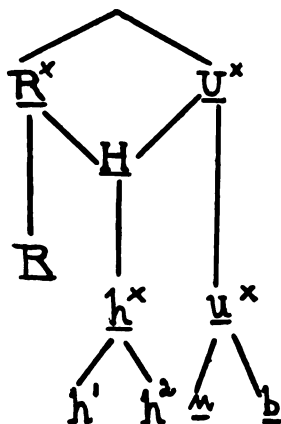
¹ *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 93.

as the sense requires, toward the end. The answer "swan" to one of the riddles is attested by agreement of *U* and *R* against *H*, which has "eider-duck." At the close of the riddle-episode both *H* and *R*, but not *U*, refer the shortness of the hawk's tail to the blow delivered by Heiðrekr with Tyrfingr at Odin, who had taken on the form of a hawk. *H* does not give this as fact, but only as the belief of "heathen men." *U* alone has the sword after clipping the tail-feathers of the hawk strike down a *hirðmaðr*. The requirement of human blood by the sword when once drawn from its sheath is thus satisfied and it may well be that *U* is original in this point. That Heiðrekr was killed is told abruptly by *H*, while *U* and *R* agree on the prophecy by Odin that he would be killed by thralls, with the account of his death following. *H*'s abruptness at this point is undoubtedly due to the fact that its version closes here, at the end of the riddle-episode, in which its writer was primarily interested.

From this point on only *U* and *R* exist for a part and only *U* for the whole of the conclusion, but there are places where *U* apparently maintains its independence and superiority, as, for example, in making *Árheimar* the name of the *herað* and *Danparstaðir* (if the first part should be thus spelled) that of the *bær*, as against the reverse naming of *R*.

In the foregoing comparison not all points in which *U* stands alone over against *H* and *R* have been included, as our purpose was rather to note the definite contributions of *U* to the text than to add its uncertainties. As a matter of fact they are, where not mentioned, of very minor importance and belong rather to a text-edition of the saga than to the present discussion. In view of the poor condition of the manuscript *u* they cannot be considered off-hand as having belonged to the original text of the saga, though such a possibility must ultimately in each case be weighed. The cases where *H* stands alone are also hard to judge. They may be mistakes or arbitrary changes of Haukr himself; they may have come from marginal glosses on one or the other manuscript which he used; or finally, he may have used a third manuscript not directly of the *U* or *R* class. The last possibility is perhaps most suggested by additions such as the extra riddles and the two extra counsels of Hqfundr to his son. While this possibility of a third class of manuscripts cannot well be

absolutely denied, the condition of *H* does not speak overstrongly for it. It is of course not absolutely impossible that the manuscripts of the *U* or *R* classes used by Haukr may have differed in these particulars from the ones now preserved. It has long been noted that *H* contains repetitions and inconsistencies. They are exposed, for example, with critical acumen by Finnur Jónsson in his Introduction to the *Hauksbók*,¹ where he even compares the *Landnámabók* which Haukr had confessedly compiled from two other texts,² but it has not hitherto been realized that these inconsistencies and repetitions



in *H* can be accounted for by manuscripts actually preserved. Haukr appears from the internal evidence to have followed with great freedom of diction whichever manuscript or combination of manuscripts he saw fit, though holding more closely to that of the *U* class for the details of the story. In this, his estimate of relative values, he was doubtless right. There can hardly be a question but that the *U* version represented most accurately in its general make-up the original *Hervarar* saga. It is probable, though hardly certain, that only the oral tradition stands between the versions *U* and *R*, but *H* is the product of the scribe.

The relation of all manuscripts of the *Hervarar* saga having independent value for the text can now be expressed approximately in

¹ XCIII ff., 1896.

² Cf. the further details in Jónsson's Introduction to the *Landnámabók*, IX ff., 1900. The *Landnámabók* of Haukr shows repetitions and inconsistencies precisely like those of his *Hervarar* saga and obviously for the same reasons.

the single diagram (p. 198), leaving out of consideration the matter of possible additional influence upon *H*, of which we have found no conclusive proof.

The need of a new critical text of the saga could probably best be met by printing first the complete text of the *U* version, under that in finer print what is preserved of the *R* version, and under that in still finer print what there is of the *H* version, with necessary comments in footnotes. New critical publication of the verses should make full use of all three versions, bearing in mind that agreement of *U* and *H* against *R* or *R* and *H* against *U* cannot absolutely establish an original reading, as *H* might have taken a wrong reading from its manuscript of either the *U* or *R* sort.

A. LE ROY ANDREWS

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

EDMUND SPENSER'S HANDWRITING

Two forms of handwriting were used in Elizabeth's day for private and official correspondence and for matters generally other than legal. These are the "Italian hand" and the script known as "Secretary." Both were universally taught in the schools. The Italian was eminently a courtier's hand—"point device" in its appearance, neat, bold, and sometimes inclined, especially in signatures, to angularity but probably not written with as much ease as the second or Secretary hand. The latter, an adaptation of the earlier legal and court hands of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is smaller in body. It was written with sweeping curves and filials, bold and graceful capitals, and hence greater freedom and ease, which made it much more useful for general purposes. Consequently, in any collection of Elizabethan papers those written in Secretary hand form the majority. Such is its uniformity, moreover, that one man's hand is difficult to distinguish from another's.

Happily, man is not a machine, and however formal a copy you may set him, his individuality will assert itself: he will refuse to cross his *l*'s or dot his *i*'s; he will insist upon making his capital letters in his own way and finishing his *s*'s and *y*'s in a way different from that which he was taught at school. This was no less true in Elizabeth's day than in our own.

For many years the identity of the handwriting of Edmund Spenser, the poet, has been a matter of keen controversy. There is no doubt that he learned both the Italian and Secretary forms. His characteristic signature, which no one has questioned, is frankly Italian; but when an attempt was made to identify his Secretary hand, wisecracks shook their heads and declared it to be a rash and hazardous enterprise. Certain documents were brought forward as being in his handwriting and received a certain amount of official recognition, but the evidence in support of them was not conclusive—indeed, it was based more or less on guesswork and has not been universally accepted.

The first of the documents hitherto brought forward as specimens of Spenser's handwriting is an undated "Grant" by the poet to one McHenry of certain lands and woods in a place called Balliganim, in Ireland. This document was purchased by the British Museum in 1854 from James Roche, of Cork. It is written throughout in Secretary hand and is signed with the poet's usual signature. John Payne Collier in the "Life of Spenser" which he prefixed to his edition of the poet's *Works* in 1862, declared this "Grant" to be a forgery and at the same time hinted that the channel through which it had been acquired was a doubtful one.

Again, in 1884 A. B. Grosart in Volume I of his edition of Edmund Spenser's *Works* also declared this document to be a forgery, but gave no reason for his belief, and added that John Payne Collier himself was the forger of it. Further, Grosart put forward a document found among the *Irish State Papers* and written throughout in Italian hand, as an example of Spenser's handwriting, his sole reason apparently being that it was attested by Spenser as a "true copy," since he produced no evidence to prove that the "copy" was made by the poet.

In the following year H. C. Hamilton, who was then editing the *Irish State Papers*, found a document written in Secretary hand which consisted of Edmund Spenser's "reply to the Commissioners appointed by Queen Elizabeth to enquire as to the way in which the undertakers" in Munster had, or had not, fulfilled their obligations under the Act. This again bore Edmund Spenser's signature, and Mr. Hamilton described the whole document as an "Autograph" but gave no reasons for his conclusion. Whatever Mr. Hamilton's reasons may have been, the Master of the Rolls was clearly satisfied that the document was what he declared it to be, for it was taken out from the other papers and placed on exhibition in the Museum of the Public Record Office as an example of Edmund Spenser's handwriting.

Presumably as a result of this action on the part of the Public Record Office, the British Museum authorities compared the "Grant" obtained from James Roche with the document at Chancery Lane, and the writing was found to be so similar that a facsimile of the "Grant" was made and has ever since been on sale at the Museum as a genuine Spenser document.

Again, in 1907 Sir Israel Gollancz in going through the Irish *State Papers* came upon one headed "Against ye Lord Roche," a two-page paper dated October 12, 1589, written in Secretary hand, and signed by Spenser. He noticed that the main clauses of the document were in the same hand as the "Grant" at the British Museum and the "Reply" on view at the Public Record Office, and drew attention to this fact in a paper read before the British Academy, claiming the Roche document as being drawn up by Spenser.

Here then are three documents, each of them relating to the poet's private affairs and therefore likely to have been written by him, all written in Secretary hand, all showing the same marks of individuality—the sloped writing, the long-drawn-out *f*'s and *s*'s, the truncated *p* looking like an overgrown *x*, the pump-handle filial *o*, the capitals *B*, *I*, and *E*, and many other letters—and all of them written about the same time, that is, about 1589.

But even so, the evidence is not conclusive. There is no positive proof that these documents which bore Spenser's signature were written by him, and there were doubters.

During a recent examination of the Irish *State Papers* made on behalf of Dr. F. I. Carpenter, of Chicago, I found myself drawn into the vortex of discussion on this subject, and by a rare stroke of good fortune I noticed among these Irish *State Papers* a document, the importance of which has escaped all those interested in this question.

On July 10, 1581, Lord Grey dictated to one of his secretaries a letter addressed to the Privy Council in London, stating that a fight had occurred between the forces of O'Donnell, a loyalist, and Tirloughe, a rebel, in which O'Donnell had been badly mauled and that he (Lord Grey) proposed to fit out an expedition at the earliest possible moment and go to O'Donnell's assistance. At the same time, Lord Grey pointed out that the treasury in Dublin was empty and that victuals for the troops were not to be had, and he urged the Council to send over supplies without a moment's delay. The body of this letter is in Secretary hand. At the same time, Lord Grey dictated a second letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, urging him to use his influence at the Council Board to obtain a speedy dispatch of these vital supplies. This second letter (Fig. 1) is in the same Secretary hand as the first, with a postscript in Grey's own hand.¹

¹ *State Papers: Ireland*, LXXXIV, 13, 14.

Neither the editor of the *State Papers* nor anyone else seems to have noticed the address or indorsement of this second letter (Fig. 2), probably because it is upside down and the volume has to be turned round in order to read it.

On the top of this, the last page of the letter, is written in Italian hand:

For her Ma^{ty} spiall affaires.

Below this, in the same hand as the bodies of these two letters, is the address:

To the honorable my espiall good frend S^r Fran^{cs} Walsingham, knight,
Chief Secretary to her Ma^{ty}.

Underneath this again are the following words in Italian hand:

Hast hast post haste for lyfe.

and finally in the bottom left-hand corner in Secretary hand:

Dd^t at Dublin the xth of Julie

followed by the signature, "Ed Sp^rser."

Now Lord Grey would not have employed two secretaries to write one letter. Besides, the whole of it with the exception of Lord Grey's signature and postscript, is clearly the work of one hand and there is no room for doubt that the secretary who wrote and addressed both these letters on July 10, 1581, was the one whose signature appears on the last page of this second letter, viz., Edmund Spenser, who equally with his master could claim to be the "especial friend" of Sir Francis Walsingham.

Further, if these two letters are compared with the "Reply" to the Commissioners in the Public Record Office, with the "Grant" in the British Museum, or with the document claimed by Sir I. Gollancz as an example of Spenser's handwriting, it will at once be seen that they were all written by the same hand.

But before the discovery just related, I had met with several other documents among the Irish *State Papers* that appeared to me to be in what was then surmised to be, and is now proved to be, Edmund Spenser's handwriting. Through the generosity of Dr. Carpenter, facsimiles of these have been made and the reader can judge whether my contention that they are in Spenser's handwriting is correct or not.

530

10 July 1581

Hast hast fast
hast for yte
R. at Dublin
to the same

to the honorable
my officers and
servants
James O'Connell
more mynnyng
doubtless
to give me a
hint

for her the small officer

10 July 1581

to the same
from the same
made.

FIG. 2.—Back page of letter of July 10, 1581

673

Copie of my penmat.





before getting out of me. I
sing out upon a afternoon
now or I like brother.

New DeLahaye fence
 put up to W. Ringent
 in New station but yet
 not thoroughly examined, but
 is a lot of DeLahaye fence.
 Mrs. Brown has some taken
 it was very perfect here &
 sent.

[illegible][illegible]

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Irish Migration of Londoners.

76th August present with
all 3 attempts to break out
John is not satisfied this
morning 30.

FIG. 4.—Parts of John Nugent's "Confession"

A note of this & Caput's sent
to Mr. Serant. Walsingham. 26
91

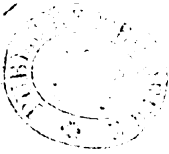
Domest. Tre. to y^e L. Deputy.
—y^e Popes Tre. to Odomes.
—y^e Earle of Seymours Tre. to Odomes.
Copy of the Herald of Limerick Tre. to
y^e L. Odomes.
Copy of the margin of Tre. to y^e
L. Deputy.
Copy of my L. of Odomes Tre.
Copy of Edward Earl of Odomes Tre.
Copy of E. 23. to y^e L. of Odomes.
Copy of E. 23. to my L. of Odomes.

FIG. 5.—A note of "Lres" to Walsingham

This day I received intelligence out of Germany
 from the Emperor, that the last Crown, which I lately
 signified were entered into that pernicious trade the
 loading of Conscience, hearing that of strength of
 the Emperor's will assembling & making friends to him, he
 retired back, paying altogether for the country of
 Alsace, and bound the Crown up steeply to me of
 France, and to destroy unto you, to the end you may
 be satisfied unto your self. The paying me more the
 type of peace. I commit you to the goodness of Almighty
 God. Given, the 16th of June. 1582.

Yours assured loving friend,

I can not avoid to
 write you yet in
 myde for my reason
 is at last so a little
 to repayre out, it doth not
 me more but more I know, be not too soon
 no more in it. I be with you.



In December, 1580, on his return to Dublin after the fall of Smerwick, Lord Grey wrote a private letter to Queen Elizabeth, giving her an account of the state of certain parts of Ireland.¹ This letter (Fig. 3) is known only from the copy which Lord Grey had made of it at the time. It is unsigned and bears no attestation. Only the words, "Copie of my privat," occur at the bottom of it. The script is Secretary, a neat official hand, but with sufficient points of resemblance to warrant the belief that this copy is in the handwriting of Edmund Spenser. The capitals, *B* and *I*, and many of the smaller letters are those characteristic of what we now know to be his script.

Further, if we ask ourselves to which of his secretaries Lord Grey would have been most likely to hand a confidential letter of this kind, the answer must surely be, his own private secretary, Edmund Spenser.

The next document (Fig. 4) that attracted my attention was a six-page paper headed, "The Copy of John Nugent's Confession." It resembles very closely the handwriting of the letter just noticed—is, if anything, smaller in body; but this fact is possibly accounted for by its length, which made compression necessary.

The next is a single sheet (Fig. 5) briefly headed, "A note of *Lres* and copies sent to Mr. Secret. Walsingham xii Apr. [1582]."² This is unsigned, but I think there can be little doubt that it was written by the same hand that penned the previously noticed documents, particularly the "Grant."

Following this in chronological order are four letters written for and signed by Lord Grey during the latter half of the month of July, 1582.³ The first (Fig. 6), addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham, is dated the sixteenth and relates to the presence of Scots in Connaught. Here we notice the sloped writing and all the other features of Edmund Spenser's penmanship. These were almost the last letters that he wrote for Lord Grey, who left Ireland shortly afterward.

But between 1582 and the first of the Kilcolman documents, Spenser's hand can be traced in four more letters, written in March, 1584, i.e., 1584–85 and signed by Sir John Norris, president of Munster. These letters have a special interest, as Spenser's movements

¹ *Ibid.*, LXXIX, 24 (1).

² *Ibid.*, LIC, 26.

³ *Ibid.*, LICIV, 28, 46, 47, 61.

between the departure of Lord Grey and the year 1588 have never been satisfactorily accounted for, and they seem to prove that he had already taken up the deputy clerkship of Munster at the invitation of his friend, Lodowick Bryskett.¹

Sir John Norris had gone to Dublin at the wish of the new lord deputy in order to take part in an expedition into Ulster; but this had been postponed, as he explains in the first of these letters (Fig. 7), addressed to the Privy Council in England, and he was about to return to his post in Munster. So far as we know, Spenser held no official position in Dublin at this time. How is it then that we find him writing these letters for Sir John Norris? If, however, Spenser had already taken up the deputy clerkship of Munster, the matter becomes clear, as it would have been part of his duties, not only to accompany the president on his journeys, but to write his letters for him. The other three letters were on behalf of a wounded soldier and were addressed to the Privy Council, to Lord Burghley, and to Sir F. Walsingham, and it is worth noting that they are the only documents in this handwriting found in this particular volume of the *Irish State Papers*.

It will be seen that the foregoing documents cover the whole of Spenser's official life in Ireland and link up naturally with the Kilcolman papers. That others are awaiting recognition among the *Irish State Papers* and elsewhere I have no doubt, and it would be particularly interesting if some example of his writing, while he was acting as secretary to the bishop of Rochester in 1578 and 1579, could be found.

Before closing this discussion, it may be as well to say something about the "copia vera" documents among the *Irish State Papers* which bear Spenser's signature, and which were discussed by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson in a paper read before the Bibliographical Society.² There are nine of these, and one of them is a Latin letter written by the archbishop of Cashel to Sir Lucas Dillon, which Grosart³ put forward as "wholly in the handwriting of Spenser." This letter is written throughout in Italian script, which in comparison with

¹ I am dealing more at large with this in my *Life of Bryskett*.

² In *The Library* III (1922), 1 ff.

³ Grosart, *Complete Works of Edmund Spenser*, I, 147.



It may please y^r H^{ty}; to be advised ¹³ of person ⁵⁷⁷ ¹³
w^{ch} of the landing of number of troops at Nynd
in Comen in the North, & send but for redress
of the by any L. Contrary to intend y^r L. in a
journey in the by the purpose to make together
but fearing that the said troops might be terrified
in the strength of the garrison there from further
attempt or endure some damage by means of
some strangers or troubled by the presence of
some) & being aware of the contrary nature of
the year of the said from taking of the a journey
in hand, y^r L. hath by the way thought y^r purpose
to send my self in order to returne backe to
place of my by the way, not for any coming to the
place not but to stand in very good rest and I hope
in a so likely to continue; but the present time
gives displeasure of the whole country is very much
for want of wheat and of cattle being all removed
to some of the late warres as if amongst y^r first
in the many the said are committed to the
in life, in the said to be advised to some of the
matters. And the said I doubt not, but so to
extend of the year of the year, as if y^r place be con-
tinued in good quietness unless the greater number
of the year approach, do the year. And so, and
on the said the said, I move from by the way
and the said to y^r L. And so I humbly take leave.
And, the said of the year. . . 1584

Y^r L^{ty}. humbly to command,

J. Norris

between the departure of Lord Grey and the year 1588 have never been satisfactorily accounted for, and they seem to prove that he had already taken up the deputy clerkship of Munster at the invitation of his friend, Lodowick Bryskett.¹

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³ Grosart, *Complete Works of Edmund Spenser*, I, 147.

the Secretary hand, was very seldom used. So far as I am aware, there is no document with which this can be compared, only a few scraps, such as the words written on the back of Grey's letter of July 10, 1581, and it is difficult to understand what authority Grosart had for speaking so confidently.

None of the other letters which bear Spenser's attestation as "copia vera" are in his handwriting, and in the absence of evidence, I should be inclined to doubt very much that he copied the Cashel letter. At that time it was the common practice in Ireland that the responsibility for the correctness of copies of documents made in the government offices should rest with the chief clerk, and that he should add the words "Copia Vera" and sign them. A glance through any collection of Irish *State Papers* will confirm this. Thus it does not follow at all that the copies were made by the person who attested their correctness, and Spenser's attestations mean no more.

HENRY R. PLOMER

LONDON, ENGLAND

ON THE REPUTATION OF JOHN HEYWOOD

In his recent book¹ Mr. Robert W. Bolwell makes the statement that he has made an effort "to include all references to Heywood that are available." Several references not available to Mr. Bolwell may be brought together for the use of those interested in the life and reputation of this very interesting and important figure.

1544-45. William Forrest in the dedication of his *History of the Patriarch Joseph* (Additional MS 34791) to the Earl of Essex remarks that, whereas his "friend Heywood" is not learned, he is noted for a "conveyance of a fine sentence." (Cited by A. W. Reed in his *John Heywood and his Friends*, London, 1917, p. 28.)

Ca. 1551. "Inventory of Effects of John, Viscount Lisle, and Earl of Warwick, 1545-50" (a MS of about 1551 now in Bodleian) contains, among other things, a list of the books in the Earl's library. Among these are "a Tragidie in Anglishe of the unjust supremicie of the Bisshope of Rome"; "Item, a Play of Love"; "Item, a play called the 4 pees"; "Item, a play called Old Custome"; "Item, a play of the Weither." (Appendix to *Second Report of Royal Historical MSS. Commission*, 1870, p. 102.)

1553. Sir Edward Walgrave's account of the burial of Edward VI mentions "John Haywood, sewer of the Chambre" as receiving nine yards of cloth for the occasion while six yards are given to his two servants (*Archaeologia*, XII, 392).

1556. Catalogue, made in 1556, of the books at Stafford Castle mentions a "Dialogue of John Heywood (English). Berthelet, 1546" (*Fourth Report of Royal Historical Commission*, p. 328).

1570. A poem bound up with R. W.'s *A recantation of famous Pasquin of Rome* mentions John Heywood along with his sons Ellis and Jasper and others as fugitives who "beare Boner good will" although they claim to be "true subiectes" and who have run away from England after trying to "spoyle" her (quoted in T. Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, I, 83).

¹ *The Life and Works of John Heywood*, New York, 1921, p. 75.

1574. Richard Robinson in *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* (Sig. Q2) is conducted by Morpheus to "the place where all the Poetes bee," where he sees Homer, Vergil, Ovid, and Chaucer:

All these I knewe and many moe, that were
to long to name,
That for their trauels were rewarde, for
euermore with Fame.
And looking rounde about that house, to see
and if I might
By chaunce of any countrey men of mine
to haue a sight:
At length I was espide there of Skelton and Lydgat,
Wager, Heywood, and Barnabe Googe, all
these together sate.
With divers other English men, whose
names I will omit
That in that place enioye the like, of
whom I spake not yet.

1579. Abraham Fleming writes in the "Epistle Apologeticall" prefixed to his *Paradoxe* in defence of baldness: "Lucian and Apuleius wrote of an Asse Virgil of a Gnat, Ovid of a Nut, and Erasmus of the praise of follie, and Heywood, yet later, of the Spider and the Flie" (Collier, *Bibliographical Account of Rarest Books in English Language*, II, 29).

1591. John Florio says in his address to the reader prefixed to his *Second Fruites*: "The Greekes and Latines thanke Erasmus, and our Englishmen make much of Heywood: for Prouerbs are the pith, the proprieties, the proofes, the purities, the elegances, as the commonest so the commendablest phrases of a language."

1593. Gabriel Harvey in *Pierces Supererogation* states that Nashe held "that there was no security in the world, without Epicharmus incredulity, Dions Apistie, or Heywoods Faste binde, & fast finde."¹

While not strictly chronological, this is probably the logical place to list Harvey's other reference to Heywood which escaped Mr. Bolwell. Harvey wrote in his copy of Quintilian: "Greatest Clarkes,

¹ *Works*, ed. Grosart, II, 311. This very popular proverb occurs twice in Heywood—in Part I of his *Proverbs* (ed. Farmer, p. 8) and his *Three Hundred Epigrams* (ed. Farmer, p. 224). Harvey quotes the expression on two other occasions—in his commonplace book and in his copy of *The Post*. (Cf. G. C. M. Smith's *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, pp. 89, 174.)

Wisest Men? Heywood part 2. C 5" (Smith's *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, p. 113).

In the same book occurs the statement: "Tria viuidissima Britannorum ingenia, Chaucerus, Morus, Juellus: Quibus addo tres florentissimas indoles, Heiuodum, Sidneium, Spencerum" (*ibid.*, p. 122).

In his copy of Speght's Chaucer occur the following notes:

"Amongst the sonnes of the Inglish Muses; Gower, Lidgate, Heywood, Phaer, & a fewe of famous memorie, ar methinkes, good in manie kinde" (*ibid.*, p. 226).

"Not many Chawcers, or Lidgates, Gowers, or Occleues, Surries, or Heywoods in those dayes" (*ibid.*, p. 231).

"Like Gascoigns flowers, herbs, and weeds. Heywoods proverbs, with His, & Sir Thomas Mores Epigrams, may serue for sufficient supplies of manie of theis deuises" (*ibid.*, p. 232).

"Sum of Heywoods Epigrams, ar supposed to be the conceits, & deuises of pleasant Sir Thomas More" (*ibid.*, p. 234).¹

1593. William Fulwood writes in the dedicatory poem to his *Enemy of Idleness*:

Who couets craggie rock to clime of high Parnassus hil,
Or of the happie Helicon, to drawe & drinke his fil:
Let him the worthy works surview of Phare that famous wight
Or happie phrase of Heywoods verse, or Tuberuiles aright,
Or Googe, or Golding, Gascoigne else, or Churchyarde,
Whetstone, Tyne:
Or twentie worthy writers moe, that drawe by learned lyne.

1601. Charles Fitzgeoffrey in his *Affaniae* addresses Harington:

Sive arguta vago flectas epigrammata torno,
Sive Britanna magis sive Latina velis.
At tu Biblidicis malis comes vie Camenis,
Illis Haywoodos Davisiosque praeis.²

1612. Thomas Stapleton in his *Tres Thomae* (p. 152) remarks that he obtained information for his *Vita* of More from numerous friends, including "Haiwodus quo per aliquot annos familiariter Thomas Morus usus fuerat."³

¹ With these last two notes compare the remark of Anthony à Wood and A. W. Reed's recent attempt to trace More's influence in Heywood's dramas (cf. *The Canon of John Heywood's Plays* and *The Beginnings of the English Secular and Romantic Drama*).

² Quoted in Hazlitt's edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, IV, 423.

³ An edition of this work appeared in 1588.

1614. Thomas Freeman in the concluding epigram of his *Rubbe and a Great Cast* has the following:

Heywood wrote Epigrams, so did Dausi,
Reader thou doubtst, *utrum horum mauiis*,
But unto mine whose vaine is no better
Thou wilt not subscribe, *Relegetur, ametur*.

1615. Henry Parrot in *The Mastive* writes:

Heywood was held for Epigrams the best,
What time old Church-yard dealt in verse and prose
But fashions since are growne out of request,
As Bombast-Dublets, Bases, and Round-hose.¹

1615. William Camden in his *Annales*: "And not long after, she commanded 70 Priests, some of which were condemn'd, and others in danger of the Law, to be transported out of England: amongst whom those of chiefest Note were, Gasper Heywood, Son to that famous Epigrammatist, who was the first of all the Jesuites that came into England."²

1631. William Bedwell in his *A Briefe Description of the towne of Tottenham Highcrosse, in the county of Middlesex* discusses three proverbs that have arisen in connection with the place. In discussing one of them—"Tottenham is turn'd French"—he remarks (Sig. D 3): "But that you may see, first that I doe not abuse you: And secondly in what sense it hath beene vsed, heare M. *Iohn Heywood*: of whom I had it, his words are these." And after quoting one of Heywood's proverbs,³ he remarks: "Thus farre hee. The booke was printed by *Thomas Barthlet* in the yeare of our Lord MDXLVI."⁴

¹ Quoted from Anthony & Wood by Bolwell (p. 28) with comment that lines are "possibly by Anton, c. 1616." With the sentiment of Parrot's remark compare S. Sheppard's words in prefatory epistle to his *Epigrams* (1651) to the effect that "some piddlers excepted," no English epigrammatists "have deuulged ought worthy notice" save Bastard and Harington.

² Kennett's *Complete History of England*, II, 497. Sir Richard Baker in his *Chronicle of the Kings of England* follows Camden: "The chief of whom were *Gasper Heywood*, the great Epigrammatists Son, the first Jesuit that ever set Foot in England" (ed. 1696, p. 364).

³ Ed. Farmer, p. 17. It may be of interest to note that Bedwell is unable to explain the origin of the proverb unless it "arose vpon occasion of many French, which herein former times had their abode or dwelling" at Tottenham.

⁴ It is significant that this remark of Bedwell's considered with the facts that a copy of Heywood's *Dialogue*, published by Berthlet in 1546, was in the library of Stafford Castle (cf. above) and that the same or another copy was in the Roxburghe collection (cf. Farmer's edition of *Proverbs*, p. 329; Lowndes, p. 1061; Hazlitt's edition of Warton, IV, 83, note 3) seriously weakens Flügel's reply (Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, I, 96) to one of the arguments of Hales that Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister* was written in 1552. "The number of proverbial phrases," writes Flügel, "which Udall uses in common with Heywood's *Proverbs* (the early date of which, 1546, is rather a myth) proves no dependence of Udall on Heywood."

1633. Sir John Harington in his *Epigrams* has one titled (Book I, No. 29) "The Author of his own fortune":

Take fortune as it fals, as one adviseth:
Yet Heywood bids me take it as it riseth:
And while I think to do as both do teach,
It fals and riseth quite beside my reach.

Note, too, that Book II, No. 86 of this edition (I have been unable to consult the original edition) is "A witty speech of Heywood to the Queene," Book II, No. 102, is "Of old Haywoods sonnes," while Book IV, No. 72, reads:

Old Haywood writes, and proves in some degrees,
That one may well compare a book with cheese.

A study of the allusions above together with those utilized by Bolwell reveals the fact that, whereas the men of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were not interested in Heywood as a dramatist,¹ he was, in spite of his staunch Catholicism, held in high esteem by his immediate successors as a wit,² stylist, compiler of proverbs, and epigrammatist. As such his real significance and influence on Elizabethan literature is not brought out by a mere collection of the allusions to him; for it can be demonstrated, I think, that his non-dramatic works were rather freely utilized by writers of drama and satire³ who do not refer to him by name.

THORNTON S. GRAVES

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

¹ Although Heywood is referred to as dramatist by Bale, Pitseus, and Jonson, the "traditional Canon" of his plays, as Mr. A. W. Reed writes (*Canon of John Heywood's Plays*, p. 9), "assumed its present form in the book-shop of Francis Kirkman" in 1671. In the latter part of the seventeenth century his activity as dramatist was mentioned by such writers as Phillips, Winstanley, Langbaine, and Anthony à Wood; and during the next century he found a place in such works on the drama as Jacobs's *Poetical Register* (1729), "A List of all the Dramatic Authors" appended to Scanderberg (1747), the *Companion to the Playhouse* (1764), Egerton's *Theatrical Remembrancer* (1788), etc.

² While various jests about Heywood were recorded by Pitseus, Peacham, Harington, and Camden, he seems to have escaped the compilers of jest books to a greater degree than the majority of Englishmen of his type did. Some of his witticisms, however, did find their way into the jest books. Cf., for example, T. S.'s *Fragmenta Aulica* (1662), p. 67; H. Bennet's *Treasury of Wit* (1786), II, 134-35; Henry Kett's *Flowers of Wit* (1825), I, 103-4.

³ Of course something has already been done on this subject. Note, for example, Sharman's discussion of the popularity of the proverbs (edition of *Proverbs*, p. xiv), Hales's contention (*Englische Studien*, XVIII, 416-18) that Udall made free use of Heywood in *Ralph Roister Doister*, and the indebtedness of Lyly's *Euphues* to the *Proverbs* as indicated in M. W. Croll and Harry Clemon's edition (London, 1916) of the novel. It is hardly necessary to point out in this connection that the appearance of popular sixteenth-century proverbial utterances does not necessarily prove the influence of Heywood.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A History of French Literature from the Earliest Times to the Great War. By WILLIAM A. NITZE and E. PRESTON DARGAN. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1922. Pp. ix+781.

Les collègues et amis de MM. Nitze et Dargan attendaient avec impatience ce qui devait être le résultat de leurs longs et patients efforts pour offrir aux étudiants et au public américain une nouvelle Histoire de la Littérature Française. Personne n'a été déçu. Au contraire. Et nous ajouterons que leur volume est arrivé juste à point pour réfuter la critique si sévère que M. Spingarn venait d'adresser en bloc aux professeurs d'Amérique, ses anciens collègues, d'être des natures "timides et anémiques," d'avoir une "peur malade de se compromettre par une opinion," et de manquer d'ailleurs de "volume" (body and soul) dans l'enseignement universitaire.¹

Si on nous demandait quels sont les mérites particuliers du volume de Nitze et Dargan, nous en indiquerions tout d'abord deux, ceux-là justement que M. Spingarn déclare manquer dans nos universités.

D'abord le caractère véritablement très savant de ce long travail. N. et D. révèlent dans un chapitre après l'autre une richesse d'information tout à fait remarquable; ils connaissent la bibliographie relative aux auteurs traités aussi bien—parfois même mieux—que les textes de ces auteurs eux-mêmes; bref, la belle conscience avec laquelle ils se sont acquittés de leur tâche rend un magnifique témoignage à l'esprit qui les a inspirés. Ajoutons qu'ils se plaisent à rendre hommage—ce que ne font pas toujours peut-être les savants d'Europe—aux travaux de leurs collègues américains. Il ne faut pas oublier en effet qu'il est des périodes, comme par exemple le XVII^eme siècle, où ceux-ci ont été très actifs, ainsi que tenait à le répéter souvent M. Bonnefon, le secrétaire dévoué, jusqu'en 1922, de la Société d'Histoire Littéraire de la France.

Et puis, le second mérite essentiel de cette nouvelle histoire c'est la note vraiment personnelle de présenter le sujet. N. et D. ne se croient nullement tenus d'observer toujours les traditions séculaires dans leur conception de l'histoire de la littérature française. Il y a quelque chose de singulièrement stimulant—surtout lorsque leur action est parfaitement justifiée comme c'est presque invariablement le cas—dans cette audace des deux auteurs américains. Par exemple, ils ignorent tranquillement la division sacro-sainte, adoptée par les plus grands, jusqu'à Brunetière et Lanson: Moyen-âge,

¹ *Civilisation in the United States; an Inquiry by Thirty Americans* (Brace, Harcourt & Co., New York, 1922), pp. 93-108.

Renaissance, Période classique, XVIII^e siècle, XIX^e siècle. 'Mais non, disent-ils! Que signifie cette superstition au sujet des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, comme si l'un fermait la littérature d'un âge, et que l'autre commençât la littérature des temps modernes? Mais le mouvement de la Renaissance continue jusqu'aux premières années du XVIII^e siècle, et le XVII^e siècle ne constitue pas une période *nouvelle*; c'est plutôt, en littérature, un épanouissement des idées du XVI^e siècle et de la Renaissance; songez donc à Racine, Boileau, La Fontaine, Fénelon, La Bruyère; donc nous n'allons rien fermer jusqu'après le siècle de Louis XIV, lorsqu'on commence à secouer le joug des Anciens.' L'attitude de N. et D. est pareille en ce qui concerne la division Moyen-Âge—Renaissance; ils anticipent la thèse de Chamard dans *Les Origines de la poésie française de la Renaissance* (1920) [nous disons "anticipent," car N. et D. avaient arrêté le plan de leur livre avant que parût celui de Chamard]; la Renaissance, pour eux, n'est pas tant une rupture avec le passé qu'une continuation—accélérée par des circonstances accidentelles—d'éléments qui avaient commencé à se former bien avant le XVI^e siècle. De même encore N. et D. ne veulent pas connaître en littérature la formidable secousse de la Révolution de 1789; car pour eux l'ère moderne en tant qu'il s'agit de la pensée, commence beaucoup plus tôt, c'est à dire dès les premières années du XVIII^e siècle, et d'autre part l'éclosion décisive du romantisme est de trente ans postérieure à peu près (1789 ... 1820). Enfin—ce qui est encore si naturel—ils associent dans un groupe beaucoup plus étroitement relié que les vieux plans des histoires de la littérature ne le permettaient: Rousseau, Chateaubriand et Madame de Staël. Nous pourrions citer d'autres exemples encore—ceux-ci suffisent. Tout ceci est fort raisonnable, et on ne peut s'empêcher de sourire, et d'être un peu humilié, à la pensée qu'il a fallu que de telles vérités nous dussent venir, au XX^e siècle, de Chicago.

Il va de soi que le sceau de la personnalité chez N. et D. ne se manifeste pas seulement dans l'ordonnance de la matière; ils affirment parfois tout à fait nettement leurs jugements,—et c'est assez un mérite aujourd'hui que le savant est souvent estimé supérieur en raison de son attitude passive (on dit "objective") vis à vis du document. N. et D. pèsent leur admiration, ils n'acceptent pas sans autre les arrêts de la postérité. Même lorsqu'ils ne s'en écartent point, ils aiment à ce qu'on sache qu'ils le font consciemment. Voyez par exemple les trois pages *discutant*—pour les reconnaître du reste pleinement—les mérites de la *Chanson de Roland* (22-125). Leur indépendance d'appréciation se montre par exemple dans le cas de Pascal, dont N. dit: "indiscutablement partial," "trop astucieux pour citer ceux qu'il attaque" (?), "sensational" (p. 310) ... on n'est pas moins respectueux des opinions de la postérité. Il faut un certain courage pour dire aussi que Fénelon est "nettement un écrivain de second ordre" (p. 357). Ailleurs on verra que cet abandon dans la composition de *Gil-Blas*, qui constitue un des charmes

du fameux roman dans l'appréciation traditionnelle, constitue une "sérieuse infériorité" (à blot) dans l'opinion de D. Pourtant les jugements de N. et D. sont presque toujours très rassis, et en tous cas il n'y a pas l'ombre de velléité de faire du paradoxe.

Il est parfaitement inutile de nous arrêter à détailler les choses excellentes du volume. Disons cependant que certains chapitres nous ont frappé comme particulièrement excellents; tels ceux sur 'l'Epopée courtoise,' sur le 'Renard,' sur le 'Roman de la rose,' sur 'Marot,' sur la caractérisation générale du XVII^eme siècle; puis les pages brillantes intitulées 'Le XVIII^eme siècle, Histoire et société,' l'exposé général de ce qu'est le Romantisme (sauf que l'influence allemande nous paraît tout de même par trop soulignée si on compare les maigres allusions à Shakespeare, Byron, Scott et Ossian); il faut relever l'effort très louable tenté pour introduire quelque ordre dans la pensée stimulante et chaotique de Mme de Staël; Lamartine aussi est fort bien traité. Disons encore que les excellents chapitres sont de beaucoup les plus nombreux; et puis bornons-nous à indiquer quelques points où il nous paraît possible de discuter certaines assertions.

A la page 34 on lit: "Le vrai 'courtois' ne s'épanouit que dans la passion illicite (*glows only with an illicit passion*); car amour et mariage sont considérés comme incompatibles (*inimical*)."¹ C'est là une suggestion d'interprétation qui nous paraît injustifiée; et surtout de nature, pour des lecteurs anglo-saxons, à gâter d'avance l'effet d'une poésie qui est très réelle dans beaucoup de ces oeuvres; et que la postérité n'a pas méconnue. Qu'on pense à Tristan et Iseut, aux lais de Marie de France seulement: ne serait-il pas équitable de présenter les choses différemment? Il ne s'agit pas tant de "passion illicite," et "de mariage et d'amour en essence incompatibles"; mais il s'agit de la tragédie résultant du grand amour sacrifié aux conventions des mariages des châtelains et des châtelaines d'alors; en d'autres termes si amour et mariage sont termes séparés, c'est à cause des conventions du mariage; du point de vue de ces conventions certes l'amour est souvent illicite; mais l'amour ne *devrait* pas être illicite, et il ne le serait pas dans d'autres circonstances. La passion de Tristan et d'Iseut est parfaitement licite en soi, et c'est le mariage de deux êtres qui ne s'aimaient pas (comme le roi Marc et Iseut) qui en fait *devrait* être illicite. En se plaçant à ce point de vue, qui est pensons-nous celui des poètes des XII^eme et XIII^eme siècles, nous nous trouvons en face d'écrivains non pas qui se plaisent dans l'immoralité, mais au contraire qui déplorent cette immoralité et suggèrent au lecteur ou à l'auditeur, un monde idéal où les légitimes aspirations individuelles et les conditions sociales s'accorderaient.¹ Le malentendu va loin, et c'est pourquoi nous y insistons un peu: à la page 64, N. parle de Marie de France offrant une "défense du système

¹ Sur la casuistique amoureuse du moyen-âge scrutant ces questions, on lira avec plaisir dans le roman de Péladan, *Les Dévotes d'Avignon*, réédité en 1922 (Monde Nouveau) surtout le chapitre XI, Cour d'amour'.

féodal";—ne voulait-il pas dire "peinture" plutôt que "défense" ?, car enfin *Eliduc*, *Yonnec*, *Les deux amants*, ne sont pas certes des "défenses" du système féodal; pas davantage que la fable *Le Loup et l'agneau*.

Il est possible que nous n'ayons pas bien compris N. dans son chapitre sur Montaigne, mais n'est il pas étonnant d'entendre défini comme 'généralisateur' celui qu'on est convenu d'appeler un sceptique? N. donne même ce trait de généralisateur comme un des plus essentiels de l'auteur des *Essais*. En vérité, dans le sens ordinairement prêté à ce mot, Montaigne n'a guère généralisé qu'en un seul domaine, celui de la religion, ou mieux du dogme; à mesure que les années passaient et qu'il était témoin des choses terribles accomplies au nom de la religion, il insista pour qu'on revînt dans le royaume de France à une doctrine unique; il fallait éviter que plus de sang ne fût répandu; et d'ailleurs il semble qu'il combattit d'autant plus par la plume le protestantisme qu'il se sentait lui-même plus d'inclination pour la pensée libre—comme s'il comprenait mieux tous les jours, les graves conséquences pratiques qui résulteraient si tout le monde allait s'abandonner à ses vues personnelles en religion. On verra que N. essaie de formuler des "conclusions générales" même en parlant des premiers essais (en général les premiers du livre sont aussi les premiers en date de composition); or, si Villey nous a enseigné quelque chose (et il nous a appris énormément de choses) c'est plutôt que les premiers essais sont une vaste tentative de dégénéraliser, et ceci, en opposant systématiquement les opinions de tels grands esprits aux opinions d'autres grands esprits; ces premiers essais ne sont guère que des sortes de mosaïques de citations.

Le chapitre le moins heureux peut-être de la première partie, à notre sens, c'est celui sur Descartes. Il débute malheureusement, N. disant (p. 264) que Descartes eut l'idée de "faire des mathématiques le fondement d'une théorie nouvelle de la connaissance." De jeunes étudiants ne verront pas bien comment cette opération pourra se faire, et on ne le leur explique pas; d'ailleurs, il est contestable que l'idée de Descartes soit justement formulée ainsi. Tout au plus pourrait-on dire que Descartes a rêvé donner aux théories philosophiques le même caractère de certitude que celui que possèdent les théorèmes mathématiques. Aussi, pourquoi traiter les oeuvres postérieures, les *Méditations* (1641) et le *Discours sur les passions* (1649) avant le *Discours de la Méthode* (1637), puisque, dans tous les deux, Descartes prétend (nous admettons qu'il *prétend* peut-être seulement) appliquer la "méthode"? L'ordre chronologique et l'ordre logique étaient en parfait accord: pourquoi les renverser? Nous nous demandons encore s'il n'est pas un peu dangereux d'appeler Descartes un "romantique" (p. 267). Nous comprenons bien que c'est parceque Corneille souligne tant l'élément de la volonté, qui suggère individualisme, qui suggère romantisme. Mais la volonté de Descartes est une volonté où la raison est déterminante; dans le *Discours sur les passions* il veut montrer comment il faut soumettre les passions au contrôle de la raison,

laquelle va alors automatiquement entraîner la volonté; il n'y a pas là d'individualisme dans le sens romantique; il y a plutôt le contraire; le romantisme s'associe dans nos esprits à un courant de pensée où la raison cède devant l'émotion romanesque ou romantique dont justement Descartes ne veut point. Que dirait N. si nos étudiants allaient mettre en parallèle les *Méditations* de Descartes et les *Méditations* de Lamartine? Enfin nous ne sommes pas certains que N. ait bien exposé la cause de l'opposition des Libertins à Descartes. Ce n'était pas, semble-t-il le rationalisme de Descartes qu'ils mettaient en question, mais ses opinions métaphysiques: c'est différent. Descartes avait une bonne méthode—celle de la raison—, mais à laquelle il fit parfois des entorses sérieuses, lorsqu'il s'en servit pour remplace l'édifice de la scolastique qu'il avait renversé, et pour réaffirmer—en partant de la spéculation pure—les idées de Dieu, d'âme, de liberté, d'immortalité.

Dans la seconde partie du volume nous rencontrons généralement davantage des jugements personnels de l'auteur; soit que la matière y prêtât davantage—les problèmes présentés sont plus modernes et sollicitent nos facultés de juger autant que celles de connaître—; soit que D. soit plus porté par nature que N. à des appréciations personnelles; soit que nous-mêmes, ayant plus souvent des opinions arrêtées sur cette période, nous soyons plus disposés à ne pas y renoncer pour celles qu'on nous suggère. Nous dirons que si presque toutes les appréciations de D. nous paraissent équitables, et utiles pour guider des esprits étudiant pour la première fois la littérature française, il en est cependant quelques unes où nous nous étonnons un peu. Nous avons déjà mentionné la sévérité de D. vis à vis de Fénelon auquel est refusé le titre d'écrivain de premier ordre. Nous serions aussi plus disposé à respecter le jugement de la postérité en ce qui concerne Marivaux, et à voir davantage chez lui que des aventures de précieuses mises à la scène. De fait, nous voyons dans Marivaux un écrivain qui est à l'antipode des Précieux: ceux-ci demandaient surtout que les sentiments fussent bien joués, répondissent au code des manières mondaines. Marivaux au contraire exige avant tout la sincérité, et il aime à la dévoiler jusque sous les dehors maniérés et les grimaces des adorateurs d'étiquette. C'est le sentimentalisme du XVIII^e siècle avant qu'il fût devenu bourgeois—nous allions dire vulgaire.

Nous verrions aussi dans le théâtre de Voltaire une façon de présenter les choses différente de celle de D. Il s'agit de *Zaïre*; il nous semble que nous aurions renversé l'ordre des termes (418-9). D. appuie sur ce fait que "la peinture de la chevalerie et du christianisme des croisés était une innovation réelle," tandis qu'il ne mentionne qu'en passant Orosman qui "imite Othello en tuant celle qu'il aime et puis lui-même";—l'imitation de Shakespeare n'était-elle pas au contraire la chose à mettre en relief en faisant l'histoire de cette période particulière de la littérature française?

Un mot pour terminer au sujet de Victor Hugo. C'est un gros morceau, et peut-être sommes-nous trop près encore du colosse pour bien parler de l'oeuvre dans son ensemble. Il est certain que Mabillean (dans les "Grands écrivains") et Deschamps (dans le grand "Petit de Julleville") ont peu réussi et que la tentative de D. soutient favorablement la comparaison. Mais justement cette tentative de D. nous a fait mieux comprendre qu'il était difficile d'aboutir en essayant de présenter en un grand chapitre synthétique la pensée littéraire de V. Hugo. Il y a eu au moins trois V. Hugo *successifs*, et il nous semble que sans augmenter le nombre de pages consacrées à ce chapitre on arriverait à caractériser plus clairement cette oeuvre formidable en la fractionnant chronologiquement. Quant à l'appréciation vraiment impitoyable de D. quand il parle spécialement de la *Légende des Siècles*, nous ne la comprenons pas. V. Hugo avait déjà fourni une assez longue carrière; est-ce sa faute si la Parque ne l'a point laissé achever le grand édifice de sa dernière période? Quand dans une grande cathédrale du Moyen-âge nous voyons des parties qui sont seulement esquissées, d'autres qui n'ont pas encore été harmonisées avec le reste, quand nous savons que des parties entières manquent, cela nous empêche-t-il d'admirer ce qui de l'oeuvre rêvée a été splendidement réalisé?

A mesure qu'on se rapproche de l'ère présente et des conflits de doctrine et de pensée où nous nous trouvons encore plus ou moins mêlés, les contingences empêchent davantage les jugements nets; des opinions arrêtées ne sont qu'à l'état de formation. L'idée était donc heureuse de terminer, pour éviter une dernière impression de fleuve qui se perd dans les sables, sur trois noms qui étaient en vedette à la veille de la guerre, Bergson, Romain Rolland, Verhaeren. Ils ne le sont plus du reste; les deux premiers car leur oeuvre était en somme négative—protestation d'une part contre l'esprit scientifique étouffant, protestation d'autre part contre le dilettantisme de la pensée et de l'art—, le troisième parce que sa cause est ultra-gagnée.

L'impression qui demeure quand on ferme le livre est celui d'une oeuvre bien saisie, vigoureusement conduite. L'avenir est plein de possibilités, et en tant que la compréhension du passé est nécessaire pour la compréhension du futur, l'étudiant trouvera chez N. et D. des maîtres extrêmement avisés.

ALBERT SCHINZ

SMITH COLLEGE

Lorenzo Da Ponte, Poet and Adventurer. By JOSEPH L. RUSSO.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1922. Pp. xviii+166.

The career of Lorenzo Da Ponte furnishes excellent material for investigation; and a comparison of Dr. Russo's dissertation with Koch's *Dante in America* (*Fifteenth Annual Report of the Dante Society*, 1896), or with the late H. E. Krehbiel's *Music and Manners in the Classical Period* (1898), shows how

much has been added to our knowledge of the subject during the last quarter-century.¹ Of special importance are the study of Da Ponte's life and works by A. Marchesan (Treviso, 1900), and two editions of his *Memorie*; the edition in the series "Scrittori d'Italia" (Bari, 1918; two volumes) having valuable notes by F. Nicolini. Several recently published volumes of the correspondence of Casanova, and books on Mozart, also furnish information concerning Da Ponte's career before his departure for America. While making good use of these publications, Dr. Russo has produced little material that was new in regard to Da Ponte in Europe; the least satisfactory part of the dissertation is the chapter on "Da Ponte's London Career," for which additional material could certainly be found by research in London, and perhaps in the collections of theatrical history in this country. But Dr. Russo, working in New York, had access to manuscripts and to rare publications that could be found nowhere else; he has not only performed a real and important service in bringing together information from many scattered sources concerning Da Ponte's life as a whole, but has also contributed new material of interest concerning the American period in particular. The bibliography of writings by and about Da Ponte is useful, but not complete; when Dr. Russo states that he has studied all the known editions of the *Memorie*, he obviously refers to those in the original text only, since he gives no exact references for the French and German translations which he mentions several times.

The historical significance of Lorenzo Da Ponte is twofold: as librettist of three of Mozart's operas, and as a pioneer in the introduction of Italian literature and music into the United States. In this latter respect, his importance seems to the present writer to be greatly exaggerated in the essay by Koch cited above, and in writings like those of Boni and Galimberti on the history of Dante-studies in America, which follow Koch as their chief or their only authority. Da Ponte's claim, which he repeats several times, that he "and no other" introduced into America the study of Italian, need not to be taken too seriously. It will be recalled that Franklin in his *Autobiography* relates how he and a friend studied Italian together, and it does not appear that Ticknor and his successors at Harvard owed anything to Da Ponte. The permanent influence of his Italian lessons given to some thousands (according to his account) of pupils, and of his holding a nominal appointment in Columbia, was certainly very slight. Of far greater importance was his business enterprise of importing and distributing large quantities of Italian books, many of which doubtless still exist in the public and private libraries of New York. Due credit must be given him, however, for the patriotic fervor with which he strove to the best of his ability to make Italian

¹ For instance, Mr. Koch says: "We do not know Da Ponte's real name. . . . His Hebrew origin has been questioned. We now know that he was born of Jewish parents, and that his name was Emanuele Conegliano. On conversion in 1763, the family took the name of the Bishop of Ceneda, Lorenzo Da Ponte."

culture known, first in London, and then for the last thirty years of his life, in the New World. As Dr. Russo says, one cannot help feeling a certain admiration for the indomitable courage of the man who, when nearly sixty years of age (he was born in Ceneda in 1749, and came to America in 1805), and with a large family to support, started life again with a new line of activity, that of teaching his native language in a city where, to use his own words, "it was no better known than Turkish or Chinese." Dr. Russo draws a discriminating picture of the man and his various activities, balancing fairly his qualities against his defects.

Da Ponte was, in fact, a striking personality, and revealed himself without reserve, though not always accurately, in his *Memorie*; these resemble in many respects the *Mémoires* of Goldoni, and the lives of the two men were not unlike, although Da Ponte did not have either the sincerity or the genius of Goldoni. Both men were engaged in various occupations in different parts of Italy, and both, after reaching the age of fifty, left their native land forever, to begin life again elsewhere; both in their old age wrote memoirs of great interest, which throw much light on the social and theatrical conditions of their day. Certain events in Da Ponte's life, especially those concerning which the *Memorie* are our only authority, are still obscure. The essential facts, however, are now known, and thanks to Dr. Russo's careful investigation they are brought together in convenient form. Several portraits add to the value of the volume.

K. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Diálogo de la vida de los pajes de Palacio, compuesto por Diego de Hermosilla. Edited with an introduction and notes by DONALD MACKENZIE. Valladolid, 1916. A dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania.

The re-editing of this work was a most happy suggestion. The *Diálogo de los pajes* is replete with interesting information of a miscellaneous nature, but is especially valuable to the student of social conditions in Spain during the sixteenth century. Mr. Mackenzie shows conclusively that the work was completed in 1573. This edition, although it leaves much to be desired, will supersede the inadequate reprint of Rodríguez Villa, Madrid, 1901, which is based on an inferior MS.

The present edition is based on MS E-196 of the National Library, Madrid. The MSS of the National Library, Paris, and the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, have been collated and their variant readings printed. An attempt has been made to construct a critical text. Beyond telling us that he adopts "the best readings," the author neglects to inform us as to his principles of text reconstruction. A glance at the variants suggests that his method is subjective rather than objectively scientific. No attempt

has been made to work out the filiation of the three MSS. Now this is of fundamental importance. If each represents an independent line of descent, then two agreeing against the third will determine many readings by a vote of two to one. If, however, the two agreeing MSS are in one family group and the third in another, then this may be of authority as against the other two.

Scribal and dialectical peculiarities and many good Old Spanish usages have been modernized away. Far too much is inserted in brackets by the editor himself. For instance in a phrase like this: *que hen la hera [en] que estamos*, to insert the preposition before the relative when it has already been expressed before the antecedent is to violate not only old Spanish but modern Spanish syntax. This is done several times. One can justify the frequent insertion in brackets of the *vocal embebida*, because this facilitates reading. But in a text which aims to reproduce the old spelling it is absurd to change *dellos* to *d[e]llos*. The same is done whenever a proclitic preposition occurs. It is wrong, too, to change *reys* to *reyes*. The editor is unaware of the plural use of *le*. Notes on phonology, morphology, and syntax are conspicuous by their absence, although this text affords abundant opportunity for such annotation.

The thesis is therefore deficient on the linguistic side. It is a pleasure to note that the literary annotation is admirable. The author has consulted many recondite works and the information here assembled will prove invaluable to other annotators of Renaissance, Spanish texts. Mr. Mackenzie has not failed to note the interesting analogue this text offers to the "Monsieur Dimanche" episode in Molière's "Festin de pierre." In this connection it would have been interesting if he had called attention to the other Spanish analogue, cited by Martinenche: the "Entremés del Marqués de Alfarache," wrongly attributed to Lope de Vega (Academy edition of Lope's *Obras*). The Moliériste would welcome a detailed, comparative study of these three variants. The episode is undoubtedly of Spanish origin. *Dimanche*, an unusual name in France, appears to be a translation of Spanish, *Domingo*.

G. T. NORTHUP

Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry. By H. THOMAS.
Oxford, 1921.

This is an admirable synthesis in English of all that is known of a fantastic genre which took Europe by storm during the Renaissance and has left a permanent imprint upon the various European literatures. It adds little new to what Menéndez y Pelayo has written in the two chapters which he devotes to the subject in his *Orígenes de la novela*, and is therefore of more value to the student of English literature than to the Hispanist. Mr. Thomas has a full command of the bibliography. Nothing escapes

him. He is handicapped by the fact that detailed monographs have so far been devoted to only three of the important Spanish romances: "Amadís de Gaula," "Tirant lo Blanch," and "Palmerín de Inglaterra." We may therefore doubt whether the time for writing the general history of the genre has yet arrived. The chapter on the pre-Amadis romances is inadequate. The concluding chapters on the influence of the romances on the Elizabethan drama are the most original and valuable. Here and there, as in his account of the Hebrew "Amadis," Mr. Thomas contributes interesting information. But important discoveries are more apt to be made by those investigators who, like Mr. Purser, confine their studies to individual works. The field is too vast for one investigator to cover.

G. T. NORTHUP

Cambridge Readings in Spanish Literature. Edited by J. FITZMAURICE-KELLY. Cambridge, 1920.

The selections in this volume begin with the fifteenth century and end with contemporary writers. In his Preface Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly states that the authors chosen are manifestations of individual taste. Where the editor's taste is as sound as Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's one may rest assured that nothing unworthy has been included. However, for practical textbook purposes, one is disappointed that several important literary genres are unrepresented. There is no extract representative of the romances of chivalry, the pastoral romances, the "Celestina," Lope de Rueda, Ramón de la Cruz, the Romantic drama, and many another important literary form and great author. The truth is that too much has been attempted in the brief compass of 300 pages. To illustrate properly the historic development of Spanish literature we need a three-volume work, after the pattern of Lemcke, one volume devoted to the Middle Ages, another to the Renaissance, another to the modern period. The present work is lacking in annotation. Instructor and student are confronted with numerous puzzles to solve. Nevertheless the *Cambridge Readings* provides a wider choice of extracts from Renaissance authors than any now on the market.

G. T. NORTHUP

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MUMMERS' WOOING PLAYS IN ENGLAND

Though the mummers' play in which was enacted the wooing or marriage surviving from ancient pagan rituals in European folklore generally was doubtless once a very popular form of folk drama in England, the wooing play is not recognized as a distinct type in the standard discussions of the mummers' plays by Ordish and Chambers.¹ This is not surprising, however, for the species survived at the end of the nineteenth century in only a limited area and in a form so decayed that the wooing was often absent. Indeed, when Chambers wrote in 1903 little material was available. He discussed the only elaborate form which had been printed—the play from Revesby, Lincolnshire, written down in 1779²—and two texts with the wooing scenes much decayed, one from Lincolnshire and the other from Cropwell, Nottinghamshire.³ Four Lincolnshire plays very fragmentary in form, which Chambers did not consider, those from Axholme, Hibaldstow, Kirton-in-Lindsey, and the North Lincolnshire Wolds,⁴ are chiefly valuable as showing the great variety

¹ See Ordish, "Folk-Drama," *Folk-Lore*, II, 314-35, and "English Folk-Drama," *ibid.*, IV, 149-75; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, chap. x.

² Printed by Ordish in *Folk-Lore Journal*, VII, 331-56, and by Manly in *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, I, 296-311.

³ The first is found in a translation into French by Mrs. Murray-Aynsley, *Revue des traditions populaires*, IV, 609-12. The second is printed in Mrs. Chaworth Musters' *Cavalier Stronghold* (1890), pp. 387-92.

⁴ The first was printed by Wood in *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, II, 88-89, and the others by Miss Peacock in *Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series, VII, 322-24, 363-64; all are reprinted in Gutch and Peacock, *County Folk-Lore, Lincolnshire*, pp. 176-87. In the same work (pp. 175-76, 220-21) are reprinted descriptions of an Alford play from *Lincolnsh. N. and Q.*, II, 21, and of other Axholme plays from Brogden, *Provincial Words Current in Lincolnshire*, pp. 151-52, etc.

to be found even in the plays of the Lincolnshire region. Two versions of a children's game which are apparently mummers' wooing plays in the last stages of decay were naturally not taken into account, though they at least suggest the former currency of the type in other parts of England, since one came from Derbyshire and one from Suffolk.¹ More recently two mummers' plays have been published which indicate that wooing drama of distinct types was once probably widespread in England. Miss Taylor collected in America and printed in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (XXII, 389-94) a play formerly enacted at Broadway, Worcestershire, in which there is a fragmentary wooing scene unlike any previously recorded; and in 1913 Mr. Cecil J. Sharp included in his *Sword Dances of Northern England*, Part III, a wooing play which he had collected at Ampleforth, Yorkshire, entirely distinct in type and as elaborate as the Revesby play.

I am printing here five plays from the Lincolnshire region and one from Keynsham, Somersetshire, all collected in the early part of the nineteenth century, which give further evidence of the variety and vogue of the Mummers' Wooing Plays in England. They are particularly significant because the wooing scenes are more complete than in any published versions except the Revesby and the Ampleforth plays. On the basis of these and the specimens previously printed it will be possible to draw more definite conclusions than before in regard to the importance of wooing and marriage in the ancient pagan rituals of England. For the plays are almost certainly survivals of pagan rites, forms no doubt of the so-called "sacred marriage."² It is impossible, however, to do more here than suggest the significance of the new texts and of the wooing plays as a whole. For a satisfactory study a large body of folk customs surviving in Great Britain and other European countries would have to be considered in connection with the plays.³

¹ "Lady on Yonder Hill," Mrs. Gomme, *Traditional Games*, I, 323-24. In the Derbyshire version, with an opening "Yonder stands a lovely lady," like a line in the Bassingham plays printed below, the rebuffed wooer falls on the ground and is revived by the Good Fairy. In the Suffolk version the Gentleman stabs the Lady and then revives her, calling her out of her trance with lines similar to the corresponding lines in the Bassingham, Cropwell, and Axholme plays.

² For the sacred marriage see Frazer, *Magic Art*, II, 120 ff.; Cornford, *Origin of Attic Comedy*, pp. 18-25, 246; Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, ed. Showerman, pp. 56-59.

³ I have collected much material and hope in the not distant future to complete a study of the ritual marriage in England.

The constant element in the wooing plays of England is the wooing of the "Lady" by a man who is usually represented as old. In all in which the wooing is more than a slight fragment he is rejected for another suitor, who is usually a young man and the leader of the games, often in the rôle of the "Fool." In a number, an old woman with a child is also rejected. There is little doubt that the rejection and marriage symbolize the virgin union of the representatives of the new season and the displacement of the representatives of the old season. With the wooing a *renouveau*, or slaying and reviving of one of the chief characters, is often found in a form that seems to be an integral part of the symbolism of the wooing plays. In some of the plays—those from Hibaldstow, Broughton, and Swinderby—there is no *renouveau*. In several, a form of the St. George play is included, with the usual dialogue and the combat between St. George and one of his conventional opponents. These apparently indicate the union of plays of two types. In several others in which the Fool is the opponent of St. George the combination is more complete. The form peculiar to the wooing plays represents not only the rejection of an old person but the slaying in addition. In the Revesby Play an old man and in the Ampleforth Play a supernumerary is slain by the locking of the swords around his neck in the sword dance.¹ In the Murray-Aynsley version the Old Man, a daemon or devil, is slain in a quarrel or combat. In the Cropwell and Axholme plays the Old Woman, the typical scapegoat of numerous spring customs studied by Frazer,² is knocked down and slain by Beelzebub with his club.³

¹ In a mummers' wooing play described by Jackson in his *History of the Scottish Stage* (1793), pp. 409–11, as seen in his youth "in a remote part of England"—Jackson was born in 1742 and spent his youth in Yorkshire and Westmoreland—the Fool is slain. In the Askham, Richard and Haxby sword dances, in which wooing scenes may have been lost, the Fool is killed by the sword lock (see Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 90). Since both the old man as a leader of the game and the young man who replaces him seem to have been called the "Fool," as in the Revesby Play, there is much confusion in regard to the function of this character. Apparently representatives of both the old and the new seasons were called "Fool" in various plays and at times in the same play.

² For the slaying of the Old Woman on the Continent see *Dying God*, pp. 240–49. See pp. 207–11, 227, 233, and *Magic Art*, II, 90, for other forms of the slaying in continental games.

³ In plays from Dorsetshire that lack wooing scenes (*Folk-Lore Record*, III, 87–112) "Old Bet" is slain in the same manner by her husband "John," a part played by the leader of the game, "Old Father Christmas."

There are many continental parallels for the season marriage,¹ but folk plays surviving in the Balkans, especially in Thrace,² give the best evidence of the antiquity of the English plays. In the grouping and relation of the stock characters and in the symbolic rites the plays of the two regions are close akin. In both it is customary for a young couple to mate and for an old and previously mated pair to play some part in connection with this new marriage; for another man, often an old man or daemon, to claim the lady or bride, though in the English plays it is not clear that this is the motive for the slaying, as it is in a number of the Greek; and for an old woman to appear with a bastard child,³ though she does not lay claim to the bridegroom in the Greek as in the English plays. Moreover, in the plays of each country forms of the *renouveau* are intimately connected with the marriage, daemonic figures appear in characteristic costumes of rags or animal skins, and circular dances occur. The use of the plow in the Greek plays, which were performed at Epiphany or later in the spring, indicates their connection with the new season of fertility. Similar rites were common in the Plow Monday celebration of England, and while the carrying of the plow is only occasionally recorded in accounts of the English mummers, as in the Murray-Aynsley

¹ See Villemarqué, *Barsas-Breis* (11th ed., Paris, 1913), pp. 430-33, for two couples, one of which replaces the other in a summer or May game in Brittany; for other forms see Frazer, *Magic Art*, II, 89, 93; *Balder the Beautiful*, I, 109-10; Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, pp. 59, 62; Phillpotts, *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama*, pp. 118-27; etc.

² See Dawkins, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVI, 191-206; and Wace, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVI, 232-53, and XIX, 248-65. Besides many plays with one bride (or two), a group of men in addition to the bridegroom, the old couple, etc., corresponding to the Lincolnshire plays with the group of rival suitors, one lady, etc., there are Greek plays with a considerable number of pairs of brides and bridegrooms. These are paralleled in a May game from Hitchin, Hertfordshire, in which "mad Moll and her husband" with black faces, and seven or eight couples including a Lord and Lady dance and sing, wooing scenes not being mentioned (Hone, *Every Day Book*, I [1888], 283-84), and in a Beltane game from Castleboro, Ireland, with ten or twelve couples besides the Fool and his wife (Kennedy, *Banks of the Boro*, pp. 221 ff.), in which a fight of the Fool with one of the spectators for caressing his wife suggests the combat of the Greek plays.

³ This child, represented as growing up in the course of the play, is at times the person slain. Sharp, who points out the resemblance between the Ampleforth and the Greek plays, cites (*op. cit.*, pp. 14-16, 72) the parallel furnished by the Clown's speech about the slain man: "How can he be an old man? A young man like me, his father! I got him this morning before I got my breakfast." Sharp also calls attention to the parallel in the ritual marriages, but in emphasizing the conformity of the Ampleforth Play to Murray's outline (in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, pp. 341 ff.) of the typical "Enlautos" celebration, in which the marriage has no place, he fails to indicate the real importance of the wooing, which is according to my conception the primary element of these plays.

version, the Cropwell play belongs to Plow Monday and the actors in other plays like those from Broughton, Axholme, and Kirton-in-Lindsey call themselves "plow lads" or "plow boys." This establishes the connection of the plays with the feast of the plow which, celebrated immediately after Twelfth Night, served for the farmers as the conclusion of the Christmas festival and the opening of the plowing season. The performance of the plays in the Christmas season in England and the naming of them "Christmas plays" are consequently perfectly natural. Those who have discussed the Greek plays are no doubt correct in seeing in them survivals of rites of ancient Greek festivals. The probability is that the kindred rites of the English plays go back for their inception to an early period, possibly preceding the advent of Christian missionaries in England, when the religions of the Mediterranean area spread over Europe. Certainly sex rites and contests of characters symbolizing the seasons date from a very early period in English festivals. It is also reasonably certain that the similarity of the season and fertility rites in the English and Greek plays is due not to any influence of a relatively modern period but to the retention of the same pagan symbolism in both, however far the customs may be from their original forms.

The differences in the plays both in details of what seem to be fundamentally the same symbolic rites and in the employment of dialogue in the English plays as against choral song and pantomime in the Greek are the result no doubt of varied modifications and contaminations in the course of the transmission by tradition through long eras. While much that is ancient is probably retained in the English plays, there is clear evidence of the sophistication at least of the dialogue. Indeed, one of the greatest difficulties in dealing with the ritual elements of the plays lies in the fact that the very features in which these elements are clearest show a strong literary influence exerted at various periods—for the most pervasive motive of all literatures and all periods is the wooing. The earliest probable records of the mummers' plays suggest that one reason for this sophistication is to be found in adaptation for semi-professional performance. The fullest of the plays published here, that from Broughton, may already have undergone such a reworking in 1524 when the sum of

two shillings—an amount appropriate to a group of mummers—was paid to “the playars of Browton on Nowyer’s Ewyn” on their visit to the Willoughbys in Nottinghamshire, probably at Middleton Hall.¹ Almost certainly the performance which Machyn describes for March 17, 1553, in connection with a procession of the sheriff of London and a lord of misrule was an adaptation of a play belonging to the type studied here: “then cam the dullo and a sawden, and then [a priest ?] shreyffying Jake-of-lent on horss-bake, and a do[ctor] ys fezyssyoun, and then Jake-of-lent(’s) wyff brow[ght him] ys fessysyons and bad save ys lyff, and he shuld [give him] a thowsand li. for ys labur.”² The reference in the Induction of *The Taming of the Shrew* (i. 93–98) to the playing by Soto (or the Fool) of the part of “a farmer’s eldest son” in wooing “the gentlewoman so well” suggests the use or adaptation of a Lincolnshire play for acting by professionals, though Shakespeare may have been describing the plays of the villages like Barton-on-the-Heath and Wilnecote from which the characters of his Induction hail. On this border line between folk plays and sophisticated plays of strollers, the mummers’ wooing plays could easily have been expanded by the inclusion of dialogue songs and of scenes from popular plays and farces. There is considerable evidence to show that such expansions and contaminations took place freely.

The interrelations of folk and literary forms offer a problem that is far from simple, however. It is probable that the literary material which has most strongly influenced the folk play was itself to some extent at least taken over from folk pastimes, and was reabsorbed readily because of its appropriateness. Festival customs of the folk affected English drama greatly even after the forces of the Renaissance were tending to divorce it from the merely popular and ephemeral and give it a truly literary character. The renouveau, for example, is reflected in a series of related morality plays—Redford’s *Wyt and Science*, *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, and *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*—in which Wit is slain by Tediousness and is

¹ *Hist. MSS Com.*, *Middleton MSS*, p. 379. The editor adds the query, “Upper Broughton, Notts.?”

² *Diary*, ed. Nichols, p. 33. Nichols inserts the bracketed parts, explains *dullo* as “devil,” etc.

revived.¹ Features apparently surviving from folk festivals are so numerous in the *Fastnachtspiele* and in Italian farces that these short dramatic pieces are to be regarded at times as sophisticated games.² In turn, elements in the mummers' wooing plays seem to be survivals of medieval dramatic conventions that are in part literary but in larger part probably popular in the final analysis. Wooing scenes in which country characters are presented occur in Italian farce, and the *Fastnachtspiele* show situations and groups of wooers similar to those of the mummers' plays.³ The dialogue, evidently a jig, preserved without title in a Dulwich College manuscript (I, 139, fol. 272) to which the name of Marlowe is attached has two country wooers, the Gentleman and the Fool, dancing in contest for the maid Nan. The success of the Fool here as in the mummers' plays seems to belong to folk tradition. The jig in fact bears the marks of a modified folk game. The motive of the "estates" represented in the Lord, Knight, man of poor estate or needy beggar, and money lender who enter first in the wooing scenes of the *Revesby Play* (ll. 221-41), and less clearly in the wooing group of the other Lincolnshire plays, furnishes the most obvious instance of a literary convention. The group and the wooing scenes in the *Revesby Play* indeed resemble Lyndsay's farce in the Induction to *Ane Satyre of the thrie Estaitis*, where the Fool wins the wife of an Old Man in contest with a Courtier, a Merchant, and a Clerk. There is a strong probability that the wooing scenes of farce represent adaptations of folk games and themselves in turn influenced the mummers' plays. Particularly I believe that the burlesques of the countryman and his customs in the wooings of early farce point to actual conventions of wooing dialogues in folk pastimes. I have elsewhere assembled some evidence going to show that wooing dialogues as

¹ The motive was used also in the lost *Play of Plays*. See Gosson's account in *Playes Confuted in five Actions* (Hazlitt, *The English Drama and Stage*, p. 202). In *The Marriage of Wit and Science* Tedioussness is described as a giant or fiend like Turpin, one of the combatants in a Cornish St. George play (Rhys, "*Everyman*" with *Other Interludes*, pp. 193-95).

² See Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 412-15, for the close relation of the *Fastnachtspiele* to folk games, and II, 173-79, for the popular element in Italian farce.

³ See Creizenach, *op. cit.*, I, 412-24; II, 173-79; Zingerle, *Stersinger Spiele*, No. xl; Keller, *Fastnachtspiele*, Nos. 13, 15, 70, etc.

well as various types of disguising and mumming were current among the medieval folk.¹

Perhaps the best evidence of the interrelation of folk and semi-professional drama in the Middle Ages is furnished by a body of stock passages that are regularly repeated in various combinations in the decadent folk plays. Almost any student of medieval drama feels immediately that many of these are survivals of expressions conventional in the Middle Ages. The following parallel between the *Revesby Play* and the *Enterlude of Youth*, a play probably written not later than the opening of the sixteenth century, will bring home the point:

Enterlude of Youth (ll. 39-58)

Youth.

A backe felowes and giue me roume
Or I shall make you to auoyde sone
I am goodlye of persone
I am pereles where euer I come
My name is youth I tell the
I florysh as the vine tre
Who may be likened vnto me
In my youthe and lolyte
My hearre is royall and bushed thicke
My body plyaunt as a hasel styck
Myne arnes be bothe fayre and
strong
My fingers be both faire and longe
My chest bigge as a tunne
My legges be full lighte for to runne
To hoppe and daunce and make mery
By the masse I recke not a chery
What so euer I do
I am the heyre of my fathers lande
And it is come into my hande
I care for no more

REVESBY PLAY (ll. 308-33)

Blue Breeches.

I am a youth of jollitree;
Where is there one like unto me?
My hair is bush'd very thick;
My body is like an hasel stick;
My legs they quaver like an eel;
My arms become my body weel;
My fingers they are long and small:
Am not I a jolly youth, proper and
tall?

.

Ginger Breeches.

I am a jolly young man of flesh,
blood and bone;
Give care, my masters all, each one!

.

Pepper Breeches.

I am my father's eldest son,
And heir of all his land,
And in a short time, I hope,
It will fall into my hands.

¹ See *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 237-51, 494-502; *Studies in Philology*, XVII, 44-45. There are burlesques of folk pastimes, in forms older than the farces, which show the same type of treatment given the burlesque wooing in the farces, as in "The Tale of Colkelbie Sow" (Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry of Scot.*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 179 ff.) and "The Turnament of Tottenham" (Hazlitt, *Early Pop. Poetry of Eng.*, III, 82 ff.).

The passage in the Revesby Play would seem to have been taken from the *Enterlude of Youth* in the same fashion that other passages indicated in the notes below were borrowed. There is much, however, to suggest that both folk play and enterlude either borrowed or adapted one of the conventional descriptions with which characters introduced themselves in the Middle Ages in dances, games, and popular enterludes. Though the whole passage is not inappropriate for Youth, it is more germane to the mummers' plays than to the morality. Youth introduces himself twice, in his description first of his body suited for activity and second of his inheritance—descriptions associated with different characters in the Revesby Play. The first part of the speech is appropriate for a sword or morris dancer. The demand by an actor for room, emphasis on his activity, as in the Keynsham Play, and references to his "great head and little wit" or his head of iron, body of steel, and legs of crooked (or knuckle) bones are common in mummers' plays,¹ while representatives of youth and age were probably once included as symbols of the seasons. The following conventional opening of mummers' plays, for instance, may be older than the *Enterlude of Youth*:

Room, room, ye gallyants, room,
And gimme room to rhyme;
I be come to show you my activity
All on this Crismus time.
I've acted youth, I've acted age.²

The second part of Youth's speech is common in the Lincolnshire wooing plays and is appropriate for a young leader of the games who succeeds the old leader. In feasts of misrule, morris dances, and folk plays the relation of the two leaders was conventionally represented by that of a father, often a festival lord or king, and his

¹ See Manly, *op. cit.*, I, 295, 305; Chambers, *Med. Stage*, I, 208, nn. 2 and 3, 210, n. 1; etc.

² 10 *N. and Q.*, VI, 481-82. In this play from the Isle of Wight Father Christmas is called "Wold age" by King George. In a play from Ireland (*Folk-Lore*, XXVII, 304) the line corresponding to the last quoted above reads, "Active young and active age," and in others (*Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore*, XXII, 390, for example), "Activity of youth, activity of age." Baker, *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases*, II, 429-32, gives a play in which the conventional combat takes place between "Activity" and "Age." See Chambers, *Med. Stage*, I, 212-18, for names in the plays including such abstractions as "Room," "Colonel Spring," "Captain Bluster," and "Swift, Swash, and Swagger."

son or heir, who corresponds to the Eldest Son of the Lincolnshire plays.¹

The fact that many lines or phrases of a type frequent in the mummers' plays are repeated in the *Enterlude of Youth* suggests again the use of stock formulas of dialogue. Youth's words "I am the heyre," etc., recur in lines 307-8. The defiance and mockery common to swaggering characters of medieval drama like Herod and to the combatants of folk plays are repeated in several passages of the *Enterlude*. In lines 82-85 Youth says to Charity:

Hence caytife go thi way
Or with my dagger I shal the slay
Hens knaue out of this place
Or I shal lay the on the face.

Lines of this speech are repeated in Youth's defiance to Humility (159-60) and a second time to Charity (172-73). Another swaggering speech of Youth's (ll. 126-31) is repeated in part in lines 595, 609-10, and 630-33. The last passage reads:

therefore crake no longer here
Least thou haue on the eare
And that a good knocke.

That such repetition of stock passages was already a feature of folk plays when the *Enterlude of Youth* was written is indicated by a series of defiances which the Friar hurls at Robin Hood in "Robin Hood and the Friar" (ll. 51-52, 59-60, 69-70), clearly a folk play or based on folk plays:

Go louse the, ragged knave!
If thou make mani wordes, I will give the on the eare.
.
Avaunt, ye ragged knave,
Or ye shall have on the skynne!
.
Avaunt, thou ragged knave! this is but a mock;
If thou make mani words, thou shal have a knock.

The taunts and boasts that conventionally preface the combats in the mummers' plays are similar in spirit and at times in phraseology to these passages from the enterlude and the Robin Hood play. An

¹ See *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, I, 1; Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 480; *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.*, XXXV, 36-55; Revesby and Ampleforth plays.

example from the wooing plays is found in lines 86-89 of the Basingham Children's Play. When a kindred situation recurs economy of effort is secured by repeating conventional lines.

The phraseology in the wooing elements of the plays furnishes a similar problem as to relationships, but its conventional aspects seem to belong primarily to the seventeenth century, to have become fixed in the period when the great mass of dialogue ballads of the London stage commonly called jigs were passing into the hands of strollers or groups of folk performers.¹ It is clear from parallels cited below that from the end of the sixteenth century to the opening of the eighteenth the mummings' wooing plays were greatly modified through a strong literary influence. The long passage taken over into one of the plays from *Wily Beguiled* dates from the sixteenth century or not later than the opening of the seventeenth. The passage from "Diphilo and Granida" comes from a droll published in the second half of the seventeenth century. "Young Roger of the Mill," found in the Swinderby Play, was printed as a slip-ballad and in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, 1724-40, but it may have been an old popular song. These are complete units that have been appropriated by the plays, but there are a vast number of parallels scattered through the broadside ballads of the seventeenth century. It is natural that the phraseology connected with the wooing motive should not have become fixed so early as that of the combat motive. So long as the mummings' plays retained any vitality they would be subject to an outside influence from the ever vital theme of the wooing.

Direct sources for passages in the plays printed here, so far as I have discovered them, are cited in the notes. But there is a marked general kinship between the wooing dialogue of the Lincolnshire plays and popular love song as found in the broadside ballads. The kinship may be illustrated best by quoting pertinent extracts from several ballads. Lines or phrases of these ballads are echoed or repeated in one or more of the plays, but the parallels are so scattered that the significance of the extracts given here will be felt only when the plays are read as wholes.

¹ See Dilke, *Old English Plays*, VI, note on pp. 329-31, for one record. More evidence will be found in my forthcoming book on the Elizabethan jig.

A. PRICE'S "THE MAIDEN'S DELIGHT; OR, A DAINTY NEW
DIALOGUE"

- Man.* I am a Jovial Batchelor, and free from care and strife;
I nothing in the world do want, and yet I want—a wife!
.
'Tis known to all my neighbours, I am one-and-twenty years old,
And I have store and plenty of white silver and red gold;
I have both goods and cattle, I have both House and Land,
I have my horse, my hawk, my hound, and all things at command.
.
And now, sweet *Betty*, I am come a-wooing unto thee;
I prithee tell me out of hand if thou can'st fancy me?
.
- Maid.* Good Sir, I thank you kindly for your proffered courtesy,
But this I tell you plainly here, in truth and verity,
That I shall never love you, whilst I on earth remain,
Therefore forbear, and say no more; spend not your breath in vain.
.
'Tis not your cunning speeches that shall tempt me unto sin.
.
- Man.* Farewell, you scornful Minion! I bid you now adieu;
I never do intend to come again to trouble you.
I'll rest my self contented, until that I can find
A Wife that is more fitting, and agreeable to my mind.¹

B. "THE BONNY SCOTTISH LAD AND THE YIELDING LASS"

- [*Lad.*]
I have house, and I have land;
I have all things at command;
I have a thing that you ne'er see:
bonny Lass, wilt thou mow with me?
.
- [*Lass.*] For I will never yield to thee,
without you'll promise to marry me.²

¹ *Roxburghe Ballads*, VIII, 94-95. See VII, 162, for a line in "Rocke the Cradle, John"—"I never mean to marry, while I on earth remaine"—which is closer still to lines 76-77 of the "Recruiting Sergeant." With the opening of Price's ballad compare the following lines of the Hibaldstow Play (9 *N. and Q.*, VII, 323):

I am a Foreign traveller,
I have travelled land and sea,
And nothing do I want but a wife
To please me the rest part of my life.

² *Roxb. Ball.*, III, 475-76. A traditional wooing dialogue often recorded (Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, pp. 551-52; Broadwood and Maitland, *English County Songs*, pp. 90-91; *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, III, 267-68; IV, 297-300; Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children*, pp. 55-56, 272; etc.) contains a parallel to this and the preceding ballad while it opens with a passage similar to lines of the wooing

C. ROBINS' "THE SCORNFUL MAID AND CONSTANT YOUNG-MAN"

[He.] All hail, all hail, thou Lady gay, the glory of the world to me!

.
In time I hope thou wilt change thy mind, for all thou seem'st
at first unkind:

[She.] Good sir, I pray you answer take, you spend your time in vain
on me:

I pray you seek some other Mate, my heart doth scorn thy
base degree.

What, do you think I am so blind to have a Clown by birth or kind?

.
'Tis not your Gold, good Sir, that shall tempt me to yield unto
your will;

That Maid which comes when they do call, will find you have
but little skill.

[He.] Here is Gold and Silver, come and see! with all delights to pleas-
ure thee.

Upon her continued refusal he breaks out:

Then fare you well, thou scornful Dame.¹

D. "THE LOVING LAD AND THE COY LASS"

Man. All haile, thou bright and bonny Lass! my joy and onely sweeting;

.
For I long time have lov'd thee well, but yet I ne're did show it.

Maid. Think it not strange that I am coy, or that I have deny'd thee:
I never will affect a Boy, whatever betide me.

Man. I prize thee more than gold or pearl, thou art my onely Jewel;
Then prethee do not frown, my Girle, why shouldst thou be so
cruel?

.
But if thou'l't grant me love at last, and yield thy self unto me,
My grief and sorrows which are past no harme at all can do me.

plays. A Lincolnshire version given in *Roxb. Ball.*, IX, 851-52, with the title "The
Handsom' Woman" may be cited in part:

[He.] Yonder stan's a hansum woman, who she is I dunnot know,
But I'll go court hur fur hur beauty, whether she answers me aye or no.
Aye or no, etc.

Madam, I've got rings and jewels; Madam, I've got house and land;
Madam, I've got gold and silver; all shall be at your command

[She.] What care I for rings or jewels? What care I for your house or lands?
What care I for your gold and silver? All I want is an 'ansom' man

¹ *Roxb. Ball.*, IX, 867-68.

After her yielding, he declares:

The sweetest Damosel in the land at last I have obtained.¹

E. "A MAD KINDE OF WOOING; OR, A DIALOGUE BETWEEN WILL
THE SIMPLE AND NAN THE SUBTILL"

[Will.]
If thou love me as I love thee,
My minde shall ne'er remove.

Nan.
Dost think my fortunes Ile forsake
To marry with a clowne,
.
Away, fond foole, away!

.
A man of wit best doth fit
A mayden for to take
.

.
Then be mute—thy foolish suite
Is all but spent in vaine;
'Tis an impossibility
Thou shouldst my love obtaine.²

In view of the direct and large literary borrowing in the mummers' plays, as from *Wily Beguiled* or "Diphilo and Granida," the close relation of the plays to the broadsides suggests that the dialogue reflecting the old ritual motive of the wooing came to be simply made up from dialogue ballads, jigs, and similar sources. The kinship is doubtless due in great part to folk borrowings from sophisticated pieces either to enlarge simple old dialogues or to supply passages forgotten or confused with related material in the ballads. But, as in the case of the mummers' plays and the older farces, the interrelation between the plays and the ballads may be more complicated than appears on the surface. Some of the phrases—like "Yonder (or There) stands a fair lady"—found in the wooing plays and in related traditional song recur in children's games but do not seem to have influenced the broadsides. Moreover, in at least two instances—"The Handsom' Woman" quoted in part above and "The Finishing Song" of the Bassingham Men's Play and the Swinderby Play—traditional versions of the wooing dialogue which I have not been able to trace in old printed forms show a closer kinship to the

¹ *Roxb. Ball.*, VII, 289-91.

² *Ibid.*, II, 121-26.

spirit and the phraseology of the wooing plays generally than do any of the broadside ballads cited above. There is much evidence to indicate that in the case of the parallels between the ballads and the plays, the passages in question belong, at least in many instances, primarily to the plays. The broadsides published in London were frequently adaptations of popular or traditional ballads and songs or echoed their phraseology. Simple types of wooing dialogues that parallel those of the mummers' plays and the broadsides are often met in the children's games of various European countries, probably surviving from very ancient seasonal games of the folk. The wooer's offer of gifts as an inducement to his lady, for example, which is the most constant feature of the comic wooings found in both mummers' plays and broadsides, seems to be a typical convention of the games, as in the traditional "Keys of Canterbury." The offer of gold, silver, and pearl in particular is characteristic in the wooing games of children.¹ Early burlesques in which the country clown is represented as listing his rustic possessions and offering them in his wooing—as in the *Fastnachtspiele* or ballads like the English "John and Joan" or the Scottish "Wowing of Jok and Jynny"²—may be taken, I think, as reflecting an old folk motive. These two ballads seem to have set a fashion for burlesque that was continuous in English balladry to the period in the latter half of the seventeenth century when numerous broadsides were printed similar to those already quoted in part, but much less broad in their burlesque and—probably as a consequence—much nearer in spirit and phraseology to the mummers' wooing scenes. In other words, the kinship between the plays and the ballads may to some extent be due to the fact that the ballads as partly adaptations of wooing games or dialogues influenced in turn the games used for semi-dramatic performance.

But the problems connected with the development of the texts in the wooing plays are so complicated that it is impossible to judge when the dialogue was formulated, what remains of primitive material, and how much sophistication has occurred in the course of their history. The very earliest formulation of dialogue for the pagan

¹ See Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children*, pp. 42, 45, 55. The last is a version of "The Handsom' Woman."

² See *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 590-96, and Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, II, 24-27.

rituals may of course have been the result of sophistication under literary influences, but at least this occurred so long ago that the oldest parts of the plays may have been traditional for many centuries. It is fairly clear, however, that lines of the plays have been modified in various periods by popular conventions and modes of expression, while distinct units are shown to have been embodied in the texts in relatively modern times.

The texts printed here were written down in the early part of the nineteenth century and are preserved in manuscripts in the British Museum. The Keynsham Play exists in two forms in Hunter's manuscripts entitled "*Collectanea Hunteriana. Popular Antiquities, etc.*" The form written and signed by an actor in the play, James Cantle, with notes in a different hand, presumably that of Hunter, is found in Additional MS 24,546, fols. 46-47. Hunter's arrangement of the text, which is printed below, is in Add. MS 24,542, fols. 25-27. In an introduction he tells briefly of this and of similar plays that he had often witnessed in Yorkshire. The part of his account which bears on the play published here is as follows:

It is usual at Christmas in most parts of England for a number of young men (about ten) to dress themselves fantastically, putting the shirt on the outside and decorating themselves with foil especially where that metal is known with Assidue, and in this disguise to go from house to house offering to perform a Christmas play, and of course expecting a gratuity. These people are called in the North by the name of Mummings. I never heard any other name: but when I met a party of them at Keynsham in Somersetshire, they called themselves Christmas Boys. They usually carried old swords which were used in the fight which generally made part of the entertainment. . . .

I have obtained from a Country youth who was one of the performers a copy of the Dialogue in a play which I witnessed at Keynsham in Somersetshire on the 27 of December 1822.

No doubt the Lincoln plays also were written down for some one interested in collecting. They are all in different hands with corrections or jottings of titles and dates made on the texts by several persons. The manuscripts are now bound together in one small volume in the British Museum as Add. MS 33,418, with the statement that it was "*Purchas.^d of E Peacock, Esq. 25 Nov. 1888.*" The only circumstance connected with the history of the manuscripts which I have been able to learn comes from the fact that the address

to "Sir C. F. Bromhead, Baronet, Thurlby Hall," Lincolnshire, is found on the back of one sheet of the Bassingham Men's Play—an indication probably that the copy of this play at least was obtained at his request and mailed to him. It is obvious not only from the handwriting but from the spelling and other features of the text that some of the plays were written down by uncultured actors who performed in them. The texts are here followed literally since they are clear and are most appropriately garbed in their quaint spelling and punctuation. I have arranged as verse parts of the plays incorrectly written as prose, however, and have added in brackets speakers' names and stage directions where they have clearly been omitted. Other details of the manuscripts that seem significant are mentioned in notes on the texts.

[Bassingham Men's play 1823 Xmas]¹

[Enter Fool]

Good Evening Ladys and Gentlemen all
 This merry time at Christmas I have made it bold to call
 I hope you will not take it ill what I am a going to say
 I have some more Boys & Girls drawing on this way
 I have some little Boys stands at the Door
 In Ribons they are neatly dressed
 For to please you all they shall do their best
 Step in Merryemen all.

[The players enter and sing together]

Good Master and good Mistress
 As you sit by the Fire 10
 Remember us poor Ploughlads
 That runs through Mud and Mire
 The mire it is deep
 And we travel far and near
 We will thank you for a Christmas Box
 And a mug of your strong Beer.

¹ The play in a regular but somewhat crude hand was probably written by a performer. The title including the brackets has been added in another hand. Speakers' names and stage directions added by me are in brackets, and I have italicized those in the MS. The play is written as verse with only lines 8, 70, and 76 indented, the writer apparently treating them as stage directions and indenting them in conformity with his practice. Spacing, which apparently is intended to indicate new entries primarily and is accompanied by a straight line across the page, occurs after lines 7, 16, 28, 32, 36, 42, 49, 57, 61, 63, 67, 69, 83, 84, 90, 91, 100, 104, 108, 116, 120, and 124.

[*Eldest Son*]

I am me Fathers eldest Son
 And Heir of all his land
 I hope in a short time
 It will all fall in my hand 20

I was brought up in Linsy Coat¹
 All the Days of my Life
 There stands a fair Lady
 I wish she was my Wife

With fingers long and rings upon
 All made of beaton Gold
 Good master and good Mistress
 I would have you to behold

[*The Husbandman*]

Here comes the Farming Man
 Upon my principle for to stand 30
 I² come to woo this Lady fair
 To gain her Love his all my care

Enter² Lady

To gain my Love it will not do
 You speak too Clownish for to woo
 Therefore out of my sight be gone
 A witty man or I! have none

Enter Lawyer

A man for wit I am the best
 So Chuse me from amongst the rest

[*Lady*]

A Lawyer I suppose you be
 You plead your Cause so wittely 40
 But by and by I! tell you plain
 You plead a Cause thats all in vain

[*Dame Jane*]

Here comes old Dame Jane
 Comes dableing about the Meadow
 Comes Jumping about, to show you such sport
 Look about you old Maids and Widows
 Long time I have sought you
 But now I have found you
 Sarrah come take your Bastard.

¹ *Lindsay Court* in some plays.

² *Enter* was used for the first appearance of a character whether he came into the room or stepped out of the circle of players.

[Fool]

Bastard you Jade its none of mine 50
 Its not a bit like me
 I am a Valient Hero lately Come from Sea
 You never see me before, now did you
 I slew Ten men with a Seed of Mustard
 Ten thousand with an old Crush'd Toad¹
 What do you think to that Jane
 If you don't be off[f] I! serve you the same.

[Old Man]

Here comes the poor old ancient Man
 I! speak for myself the best I can
 My old grey Hairs they Hang so low 60
 I! do the best for myself the best I know.
 [To Lady] Me thinks me sees that star shine bright
 On you Iv² fix'd my hearts delight

In comes the Lady

Away Away from me be gone
 Do you think I! Marry such a Drone
 No I! have one of high degree
 And not such an helpless wretch as the

Old Man

Kick me Lady out of the room
 I! be hang³ over our Kitchen Door

[St. George]

In comes Saint George 70
 The Champeon bold
 With my bloody spear
 I have won Ten Thousand pounds in Gold
 I fought the finest⁴ Dragon
 And brought him to a slaughter
 And by that means I gaind⁵
 The King of Egypts Daughter
 I ash him and smash him as small as Flys
 Send him to Jamaica to make Minch pies.

[Fool]

You hash me and smash me as small as flys 80
 Send me to Jamaica to make Minch Pies

¹ This phrase is used in several plays, but it is no doubt a corruption of *custard*, the reading of the *Revesby Play*, l. 288.

² In most plays the word is *fiery*.

³ In the MS *I gaind* belongs to the next line.

[*St. George*]

Yes I! hash you and smash you as small as Flys
And send you to Jamaica to make Minch Pies¹

[*They fight; the Fool falls*]

*The old Witch*²

Five Pounds for a Docter my Husband to cure

The Docter

I= the Docter

[*The old Witch*]

pray what can you cure³

[*The Docter*]

I can cure the Itch and the Veneral & the Gout
All akes within and pains without
You may think I am mistain
But I can bring this Man to Life again.

90

*The old Witch Says*⁴

where have you learnt your skill Docter

The Docter

I have traveled for it.

The Old Witch says

Where have you traveled.

The Docter says

I have traveled from my Old Grandmothers Fireside, to her Bread &
Cheese Cupboard Door, And there had a many a rare piece of Bread & Cheese,

The old Witch says

try your skill Docter;

The Docter says

I will feel of this Mans Pulse Very bad Very bad indeed take a little
of this Medicine⁵

This Man his not Dead but in a Trance
Arise my Lad and take a Dance.

100

¹ The preceding four lines are repeated in the MS with the heading "The old Witch" and scored through.

² That is, Dame Jane.

³ Lines 85 and 86 form one line in the MS.

⁴ In the MS *Says* opens line 91.

⁵ In the MS lines 92-98, including the stage directions, are written as eight lines of verse.

The finishing Song

[Fool]¹

Come write me down the power above
That first created A man to Love
I have a Diamond in my eye
Where all my Joy and comfort ly²

I! give you Gold I! give you Pearl
If you can Fancy me my Girl
Rich Costley Robes you shall wear
If you can Fancy me my Dear

[Lady]

Its not your Gold shall me entice
Leave of[f] Virtue to follow your advice 110
I do never intend at all
not to be at any Young Mans call³

[Fool]

Go you away you Proud and scornful Dame
If you had been true I should of been the same
I make no dought but I can find
As handsome a fair one too my mind

[Lady]

O stay Young Man you seem in haste
Or are you afraid your time should waste
Let reson rule your roving mind
And perhaps in time she'l proof more kind 120

[Fool]

Now all my sorrows is comd and past
Joy and comfort I have found at last
The Girl that use to say me nay
She comforts me both Night & Day.⁴

¹ Presumably the Fool is the speaker since convention demands that the Fool win the Lady.

² comfortably in MS.

³ Lines 111 and 112 are written as one in the MS.

⁴ Except for an added narrative stanza just before the last and some variations in phraseology, a traditional song from Sussex, printed in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, I, 22, is identical with "The finishing Song." Much of the song may be very old. Parallel passages are found in *Misogonus*, II, iv, 81 ("is she not like a diamant in thy eye"), and in the ballads cited above. Compare also the line of "The Down-Right Woong Of Country William and his pretty Peggy" (*Roxb. Ball.*, VII, 264), "I fancy thee both day and night." The song practically intact forms one of the sections of the Swinderby Play and passages are found scattered through the dialogue of the other plays printed here.

Bassingham Childrens play¹
Xmas 1823

The Play

Part the 1:st Here comes i that has never been yet.
 with my great head and little wit.
 my head is great my wit is smawl
 I will act the fools part to please you All.
 I have a few little boys standing at the door
 in ribings neatly drest.
 and for to please you all
 they shal do thier best. .
 Step in meryman All. . [They enter]

Lady comes in. we sing. .

Good master and good misteriss 10
as you sit by the fire
Remember us poor plowlads
that runs through muck and mire
The mire it is deep.
and we travel far and near
And we thank you for a Christmas box.
and a mug of your strong beer. .

Part the 2nd

I am my farther eldestson
the air of all his land
I hope [in] a very short time
it will all fall in my hand.

I was brought up at lincecourt
all the days of my life.
th[er]e stands a fair lady
I wish she was my wife.

with fingers long and rings upon.
made of the beaten gold.
good master and mistres
I would have you to behold.

20

1 "Bassingham Children's Play" is written as prose except for a quatrain at the end. The descriptive title is supplied in the left hand corner by the same hand that wrote the title of the preceding play. There seem to be two hands in the text. "Part the 1st", "Part the 3rd", the passage from the middle of line 81 through line 99, and that from line 107 to the end, in a somewhat crude hand, seem to have been written by one person, who apparently made a few corrections in the rest of the text. The other parts are written in a clearer hand. In the same hand apparently are a number of corrections, such as the capitalization of *s*'s in "Part the 3rd" and insertions through the play.

• The Fool.

lady It tis my clothing you admire, 30
 not my beauty you desire
 so gentle sir I must away.
 I have other suteers on me stay.

Part the 3^d the farming man . .

Here comes I the farming man
 upon my princeable for to stand. .
 I am come to woo this lady fair
 to gain her love is all my care. .

Lady speaks. . to gain my love it will not do.
 you speake so clownish for to woo.
 wit a man and I will have none.¹ . 40

farmer.² . A man for wit I am the best,
 and I hope your love I shall rejest. .

Lady. . a Lawyer I supose you be
 you play your cause so wittlery.
 but by and by I will tell you plain.
 you play your corse its all in vain.

Part 4th Or old dame jane.

Here comes old dame jane
 being dabbleing about the medows.
 jumping about to show such sport
 Look about you old maids and widows
 long time I have sought you.
 but now have I found you
 sory³ come take your bastard.

50

to the eldestson

[Eldest Son.]⁴ bastard you bitch it is non of mine
 it tis not a bit like me.
 I am a valient man just come from Sea
 you never seed me before now did you.

Dame. no.

eldest son. I slew ten men with a mace of mustord seed
 and ten thousand men with an old crusht toad. 60
 What do you think to that jiny.
 if you dont be off[f] with you I will serve you the same.

¹ Cf. corresponding part of the Bassingham Men's Play for intelligible form of lines 40, 42, 44, and 46.

² *Lawyer.*

³ *Sirrah.*

⁴ In the Revesby Play, the Cropwell Plow Monday Play, and the Broughton Play this speech and the next one by the Eldest Son belong to the Fool. Since the Fool is often the son and heir of the festival lord, he was probably in many instances identical with the Eldest Son. In the Revesby Play and this one they are distinct.

Part the 5th. Or the old man.

Here comes the poor old ancient man.
I speak for myself the best I can.
my old grey hairs they hang so low.
I must speak for myself the best I [k]now.

Eldest son speaks.

Looks up old man and never fear
wipe thy eyes and thou will see clear

[Old Man, to Lady]

Methinks me sees yon stars shine bright.
To you I fixt my harts delight.

70

Ladys part.

A way a way from me begone.
do you think I should have such an old man as you.
no I would have one of High degree.

old mans part.

kick me lady out of doors
for I will be hanged upon our kitchen door.
If ever I come near you any more.

Part the 6th. Or Saint George.

Here comes saint George the Champion bold.
And with my bloody spear
I won ten thousand pounds in gold
I fought the dragon and broughthin to is slaughter¹ 80
and by that means I won Kings Williams Daughter . .
I will turn myself around. and see who I can see.
If I can see that man that dare fase me.
I will hash him and smash him as small as flies.
and send him into Jamaica to make minch pies.

Fools part.

prithee fellow hold thy noise.
tell me no more of these lies
my blood it rise when first I heard that thing
I will stand before thy fase if thou be some King.

St. Georges part.

No King am I thou can planly see 90
but with my sword I will answer the.

St. George. and the Fool fights. fool drops of his belly

Ladys² part.

Five pound for the Doctor my husband to cure.

Doctors part.

I'm the Doctor mam I'm the Doctor

¹ brought him to his slaughter.

² This and the succeeding speeches by the Lady belong to the Old Woman in other plays.

Lady. Pray what can you cure.

Dr. the itch pox loosic palsy and the gout
all agues and paines within and without

Lady. Where did you learn your skill Doctor.

Dr. I travled for it.

Lady. . Where have you travled for it. 99

Dr. I travell'd from my bed side to my old Grandmothers bread and cheese
cupbord and there's had a many a rare piece of bread and cheese.

Lady's part. Try your skil Doctor.

Dr. I will feel of this mans pults

Doctor puts the bottle to his nose.

Dr. part. take a little of my snifsnafs and snuf up your snifsnafs
this man he his not dead but in a trance.
So rise up my lads and take a dance.

foole rises. foole and lady and Doctor dances.

Fools part. I am come to invite you all to my wifes weding what you like
best you must bring on with you. how should I [k]no[w] what every
body likes some likes fish others likes flesh but as for myself I like
some good pottaty gruel so what you like the best you must bring
on with you.

Lady and fool Sings.

We will have a jovel weding. the fiddle shall merrily play. . 112
ri forlaurel laddy ri forlaurel lay

W[e']ll have long taild porrage a puding of barley meal.
ri forlaurel laddy ri forlaurel lay.

W[e']ll have a good salt hering and relish a quart of ale.
ri forlaurel laddy ri forlaurel lay. .

W[e']ll have a lim of a lark and W[e']ll have a louse to roast

W[e']ll have a farthing loaf and cut a good thumping toast
ri forlaurel laddy ri forlaurel lay 120

W[e']ll have a jovel weding the fiddle shall merrily play.¹

¹ This song is close akin to the first stanza of "The Blythesome Wedding," first published in Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, Part I, 1706, pp. 8-10:

Fy let us all to the Briddel,
for there will be Liltin there,
For *Jockie's* to be Married to *Maggie*
the Lass with the Gauden-hair;
And there will be Lang-kail and Pottage
and Bannocks of Barley-Meal,
And there will be good Salt-herring
to relish a Kog of good Ale.

The song was also published in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, 1724 (Glasgow, 1871, I, 85-87); *Orpheus Caledonius*, 1733, I, 76-79; etc. An adaptation appeared in D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, VI (1720), 350-52, as "The Scotch Wedding," etc. See Dick, *Songs of Burns*, pp. 457-58, for various versions of the air.

St George and the Eldest son and the farmer man. Sings this song.

Good master and good mistres now our fool is gone
We will make it in our business to follow him along
We thank you for sobillity¹ as you have shown us here
So I wish you all your healths and a hapy new year

HOW THEY TO BE DREST

Fool drest in cap and trowsers. Lady drest in womans close Eldest son. drest in ribons. Farming man drest in cloth coat boots spirs Old dame jain, old fashned bonet and old bed-gown. Old man drest in old fashned hat and long coat. grey hairs Saint George drest in ribbons. Doctor drest. black coat and trawsters white hanchief.,

A Christmas Play [from Broughton]²

Enter Fool.³

Gentlemen and Ladies

I'm come⁴ to see you all
This merry time of Christmas,
I neither knock nor call;

¹ *civility.*

² Three slightly different forms of this play, written as prose in distinct hands, are included in the volume with the titles, "A Christmas Play," "Broughton Play," and "Broughton Xmas play corrected by a recollection of 60 years." They are cited here as A, B, and C respectively. A is used for the present text. The scribe wrote in a clear hand, giving the title and the speakers' names in heavy script and more than half the time setting the speakers' names partly in the margin with hanging paragraphs. The scribe of B, who wrote crudely, correcting words and inserting omitted words above the lines, signed himself at the end "Thomas Carr 1824." A different hand has written in pencil on the margin of the second page "1824 (Broughton Play Mr. Brigg See top p. 4)" and later "(signed 1824 at end)." These annotations were probably made after the play had been pasted in the volume. The first, on fol. 9r, refers to 10v, the pages having been written in such order that when the sheet was folded the opening page came fourth. C, which seems to be a copy of B, is written in a very regular hand. Though several significant additions are made to the text, suggesting the familiarity of the writer with the play, and many of the errors of B in grammar and spelling are corrected, in the main the text of B is followed word by word, some readings apparently being misinterpretations of the original. C is cited in my notes only when it has a significant variation from B. The titles of B and C were written by the same hand that wrote those of the Bassingham plays, and there are a few corrections in the same hand (D) in C, chiefly restorations of the readings of B. The words "corrected by a recollection of 60 years" probably refer only to these minor changes.

The greater similarity in details between A and B than one would expect in copies made from memory even by performers in the play, but particularly the consistency with which speakers' names are indicated and the letters in them are shaded suggests a close relation between the two manuscripts. B with its crudities could hardly have been copied from A, but the scribe of A might have copied B, correcting freely. A number of details, however, suggest that a manuscript of the play old enough to have old English script was copied in both cases. In line 68 the scribe of B wrote *hæc* and then added *ā* above *ē*. In line 156 *n* is written above the *a* of *thousad*. The many abbreviations in B by the use of superior letters may have come from a manuscript with similar abbreviations. Where the words of A "clownish I" (l. 117) appear in B in what seems to be "clown if I," there is a possible misreading of a long *e* and an old *h* of *-ish*. "Com'd," regularly used after "I am" in B, may be due to the misreading of an *e* in the old manuscript. In "Merryman," which is consistently used for the fool in the speakers' names of B (and C), we probably have an old term. If a single manuscript was used the scribe of A either read more correctly or modernized more freely than the scribe of B. In the notes variants are indicated only when they seem significant for meaning or meter or perhaps for the relations which I have just suggested.

³ Called Merryman in speakers' names of B and C.

⁴ B has *Im' com'd*, a regular construction in this version.

I come in so brisk and bold
 with confidence I say.
 What can you expect of a Fool
 that¹ knows no other way.
 A² Fool I know I am
 and so do you.³
 Fools⁴ and little children
 for most parts speaks true.

10

My name is noble Anthony
 I'm⁵ as live and as blyth and as mad
 and as melancholy as that⁶ mantletree
 make room for noble Anthony
 and all his Jovial Company.

Lady.

When I was a maid in blooming years
 my pleasure was all in pride.
 My tatling tongue could never lie still
 in service to abide.

20

I thought it long all in my Arms
 a young man to embrace
 but⁷ instead of a man I meet⁸ with a Clown
 is not that a sad pitiful Case.

Fool⁹ a pitiful case indeed Madam.¹⁰ Hey, ho! wher's all this paltry poor;
 still paltry in this place, and yet not perfect for shame, step forth
 peoples eyes look's dim with a very red expectation.

¹ B *wich.* ² B *indeed and so do you.* ³ B *omits.* ⁴ B *omits.*
⁵ B *for A.* ⁶ B *for fools.* ⁷ B *A.* ⁸ B *met.*
⁹ In B this speech reads:

" *Merryman.* A very pitiful case indeed Madam Heigh O were is all this paultry and poor
 Still paultry in this place and yet not perfect for shame step forth peoples ^{eyes}
 dim
 looks with the very red expectations."

¹⁰ With ll. 28-52 compare the following from the Induction to *Wily Beguiled* (Malone Society Reprint):

The Prologue. What hoe, where are these paltrie Players? still poaring in their
 papers and neuer perfect? for shame come forth, your Audience stay so long, their
 eyes waxe dim with expectation.

[Enter one of the Players.]

How now my honest Rogue; what play shall wee haue here to night?

Play. Sir you may looke vpon the Title.

Prolog. What, *Spectrum* once again? Why noble *Cerberus*, nothing but patch-pannell
 stuffe, olde gally-mawfrees and cotten-candle eloquence? out you bawling bandogge
 fox-furd slaue: you dried stockefish you, out of my sight. [*Exit the Player.*]

Well tis no matter: Ile set mee downe and see't, and for fault of a better, Ile supply
 the place of a scurvy Prologue.

Enter a Juggler.

Juggler. Why how now humorous *George*? what as mecholy as a mantletree?
 Will you see any trickes of *Leigerdemaine*, slight of hand, clenly conuayance, or *deceptive*
visus? what will you see Gentleman to driue you out of these dumps?

Prolog. Out you soust gurnet, you Woolfist, be gon I say and bid the Players dispatch
 and come away quickly, and tell their fiery Poet that before I haue done with him; Ile
 make him do penance vpon a stage in a Calues skin.

1st *Ribboner*. How now m'e Amorous¹ George
still² as live and as blyth and as mad 30
and as melancholy as that³ Mantletree.
What play have you got here today.

Fool play boy,

[1st]⁴ *Rib* Yes play I look upon the Tittle⁵ of the spectimony once a year
you old scallibush nothing but parch pennyworth tuf coal callyely
old callymuf's⁶ you rolling. bolling bangling fool stand out of my
sight.

Fool Zounds what a man have I got here

[1st]⁴ *Rib*² man you mistake in me.⁷ 40
i'm no talker I am⁸ a Juggler.
I can shew you the trick of the twelves,
as many tricks as there are days in the year⁹
toils and moils and motes in¹⁰ the Sun.
I have them all upon my Finger end
Jack in¹¹ the loft quick and be gone.

Fool now man I'll warrant the¹²

[1st]⁴ *Rib*⁷ Hey now man I see thou can do something. hold thy hand,
here's a Shilling for thy labour;
take that to the poltry of the poor and throw unto them,¹³
say thou hast quite lost the title of this play, 50
callyflaskin jest shall stenge¹⁴ our sight
and you shall hear a new delight.

Juggler. O Lord sir ye are deceiued in me, I am no tale-carrier, I am a Juggler.
I haue the superficial skill of all the seuen liberrall sciences at my fingers end.
He shew you a trick of the twelues, and turne him ouer the thumbes with a trice.
He make him fly swifter then meditation.
He shew you as many toiles as there be minutes in a moneth, and as many trickes as there
be motes in the sunne.

Prol. Prithce what trickes canst thou doe?

Juggler. Marry sir I will shew you a trick of cleanly conueiance.
Hei fortuna furim nunquam credo. With a cast of cleane conueyance, come aloft *Iack*
for thy masters aduantage (hees gone I warrant ye.)

Spectrum is conueied away: and *Wily*
beguiled, stands in the place of it.

Prol. Mas an tis well done, now I see thou canst doe something, holde thee there
twelue pence for thy labour.
Goe to that barme-froth Poet and to him say,
He quite has lost the Title of his play,
His Calue skin iests from hence are cleane exil'd.
Thus once you see that *Wily* is beguil'd.

¹ B me Hamorous; C my amorous

⁴ First written above *Rib* in B.

² B omits.

⁵ B tittle.

³ B a.

⁶ B tuffcoat cately old calleyumus.

⁷ The line reads in B, you Quiet mistaken in me, and in C you'r quest is mistain in me;
D has scored through *quest is* and substituted *quite*.

⁸ B *Im*. Variations between *I'm* and *I am*, *I've* and *I have*, etc., in corresponding
phrases of the two texts are frequent and there is no consistency in either.

⁹ B *is days in A year*; C *are days in a Year*.

¹¹ B and.

¹⁰ B of.

¹² B *I warrent tee*; C *I'll warrant tee*.

¹³ B retains the rhyme of *Wily Beguiled*:

take that to the paultry of thee poor and thus to them say
thou hast quiet lost the title of this play.

¹⁴ B *slenge*; C *clenge*.

1st *Rib.^r to the Lady.*

Well meet¹ fair Lady in this place,
the exercise that is in the
will over shade² the fairest face,
when beauty comes on high degree

since once to you I've told my mind
I pray fair Lady dont be unkind
it is your beauty makes me say³
I shall go blind and loose my way.

60

Fool I will lead you Sir)⁴

Lady Courteous Knight how must this be.
You will no answer take of me
you look so great I do declare
you come to me but in a jeer.

1 *Rib.^r Again⁵* A jeer dear love it is not so.
I'll make it known before I go.
before I go hence from this place,
I will obtain your comely face.

Lady. Away away from me begone,
a witty man or I'll have none⁶ 70

2nd *Rib^r* Aman for wit I am the best
that ever did to you express
I have such causes underhand
no man like I can understand.

Lady A lawyer I⁷ suppose you be
you plead your cause so wittily
but by and by I'll tell you plain
the cause you plead is⁸ all in vain

2 *Rib^r* My wit it never did me fail,
if not for hopes it would prevail
If not for hopes my heart would burst
and in your love I⁹ put my trust 80

Lady Away away out of my sight,
go¹⁰ talk along with yon fair Knight

¹ B *met.*

² B *stay.*

³ B *shall over Shed.*

⁴ This interpolation of the Fool's does not occur in B or C.

⁵ B *omits Again.*

⁷ B *as I.*

⁸ B *It's.*

⁶ B *a witty man for me or none!*

⁹ B *it's.*

¹⁰ B *and.*

Two Rib.⁸ Sing be she gone be she gone
 farewell I care not
 for if she's¹ a pretty thing
 I've had my share on't,
 For if she has² more Land than I³ 90
 by one half acre
 I've plow'd and sown in her Ground
 let the Fool take her—⁴

[*Fool* I have more wisdom than them all
 & by your Wisdom you may fall.]⁶

3 Rib.⁷ I am my Fathers eldest Son
 and heir of all his Lands
 and⁸ hope in a short time
 it will all fall in my hands.

I was brought up at Linsecourt⁷ 100
 all the days of my life,
 I'm walking with this Lady fair
 I wish she was my wife.

Her⁹ fingers long with⁹ rings upon
 all¹⁰ made of pure Gold.
 good Master and good Mistress
 I'd¹¹ have you here behold.

Lady It is my clothing you admire
 its not my company you desire 110
 so farewell I'll bid adieu.
 Step in kind sir here's room for you.

Enter¹² Husbandman

Here¹³ comes I the Husbandman
 upon my principal for to stand.
 I'm come to woo this Lady fair
 to gain her love thats all I care

¹ B she has.

² B she's.

³ B me.

⁴ With slight variations lines 86–93 occur as a four line stanza opening the song "The Careless Swain" (*Westminster Drollery* [1671], ed. Ebsworth, p. 81), and the ballad "The Deluded Lasse's Lamentation" (*Roxb. Ball.*, IV, 23). They are obviously borrowed in the ballad and may have been borrowed in the song though they are in a proper setting.

⁵ This couplet occurs only in C. It belongs to the Fool, I judge, though no new speaker is indicated.

⁶ B I.

⁷ B with.

⁸ B are.

⁹ B omits *Enter*.

¹⁰ B linsey coat.

¹¹ B and.

¹² B I would.

¹³ B In.

- Lady* To gain my love that never will do
you speak so clownish I¹ to woo.
- Husbandman* I've² cart, I've plow, I've husbandry,
I've Gold and Silver enough for the,
I've something else³ will do the good 120
will nourish thy veins and warm thy blood.
I've something else for the beside
if thou'lt consent to be my bride
- Lady* My fathers working at⁴ his loom
my Mothers spinning hard at home
their Dinners they've got
their Suppers they want
so I⁵ pray you be gone and give me your room.⁶
- Ancient Man.* Here comes I⁷ the old⁸ Ancient Man
to speak for myself the best I can, 130
my old Grey locks th[e]y hang⁹ so low
I'll¹⁰ speak for myself the best I know.
- Lady* Cheer up old man and never fear
Wipe thy Eyes and thou'lt see clear,
- Ancient Man* Hey Hey¹¹ me thinks me see the stars shine bright
mee's come to y-'a my Arts delight.¹²
- Lady* why dost thou think I can¹³ fancy such an Old man
as thee.¹⁴
No I'll have one of a higher¹⁵ degree.

¹ B *clown if I*; C *Clownified*.

² B *Hiv'e*; C *I've*; and so through the speech.

³ B omits.

⁴ B *in*.

⁵ B omits *I*.

⁶ Lines similar to 124-28 occur in a wooing dialogue in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, II, 16-17:

My mother is spinning at home,
My father works hard at the loom,
And we ware a-milking come;
Their dinner they want;
Then pray ye, Sir, dont
Make more ado on't,
Nor give us affront;
We're none of the town
Will lie down for a crown.
Then away, Sir, and give us room.

The passage resembles a regular formula of songs of the night visit (see *PMLA*, XXXVI, 571 ff.) and may like the line, "I've houses and land," show the use of conventional phraseology in the dialogue.

⁷ B *In comes I*; C *In comes me*.

⁸ B omits but inserts *old* before speaker's name.

⁹ B *they hing*.

¹⁰ B omits.

¹¹ B *I I*; C *Aye aye*.

¹² B *me's com'd to yar me heart delight*; C *My Eyes comes to you my hearts delight*.

¹³ To this point the line in B reads, *Does tee [C he] think I could*.

¹⁴ C omits *as thee*.

¹⁵ B *an high*.

Ancient Man Kick my¹ Ladie out of the room.
I'll be hang'd over our Kitchen door 140
if ever I² come to court y'a any more.

Lady Take your porridge face away.

Ancient Man My porridge face is as handsome as y'-rs and ugly enough too-)

Jane. In comes Jane with along neck'd Crane
come dappling ore³ the meadow
she's fib'd before to shew you some sport
look about you old Maids and Widows

*Fool*⁴ long time I've sought but now I've found⁵
my joy and only arsturd.⁶

Jane but since you've said so and call'd me your Whore⁷ 150
Sarrah come take your Bastard

Fool— Bastard T'is none of mine its not abit like me.
I'm a valient Knight just come from sea
you never heard talk of me before did ye.
I kill'd ten men with a mess of mustard,
ten thousand with my bright Sword.

Jinny I have a sheep skin
to lap them in⁸
look about you old maids and Widows,

[*Fool*] had I been aman in this country known, 160
and my valour had been⁹ shown

Sound Music Sound. I'm just agoing (*row de dow*)¹⁰

Fool Stop abit I have abit of a Song to Sing to my Lady before I go I'll
Snite¹¹ my Eyes and clear my Nose and see what I can do before
I go. *Sings*

My love My dear My Dove My Duck¹²
one pleasant smile my heart will cheer
but if on me you cast one frown
I greatly fear it will knock¹³ me down

[*Old Man aside* then ya may get up again.]¹⁴ 170

¹ B *Why then kick mes.*

⁵ B *long I have sought but now I have found.*

² B *before I'll.*

⁶ B *astard; C Bastard.*

³ B *com'd Dabbling over.*

⁷ B *since you have said so and call'd me hore.*

⁴ B *omits.*

⁸ B *to lap [C wrap] them all in.*

⁹ B *valoured been; C Valour been; D inserts had.*

¹⁰ In stead of *I'm just agoing (row de dow)*, B has the direction, *A Dance*, and C (*three Riboner and Lady Dance*).

¹¹ B *snipe.*

¹² B *My Love my dove my duck my dear.* The line is a conventional one; see *Rozb. Ball.* I, 626; VII, 264.

¹³ C *Cast; B and D knock.*

¹⁴ This aside occurs only in C where it has been inserted above the line.

*Lady*¹ Indeed kind Sir since you say so
to banter me will never do.²
when I become a Married Wife,
there³ after follows care and Strife

Fool sings again

Alas sweetheart you are mis-tain
for more than that I'll tell you plain,
A maiden she must run⁴ and go
toil⁶ and moil through care and woe
whereas⁶ a married wife may sit and⁷ rest
pray tell me which⁸ lives the best. 180

Lady® Indeed kind Sir since you say so¹⁰
 Along and along with you I'll go.
 I'll wed with none but only you
 to all other¹¹ gallants I'll bid adieu—

Fool Adieu and Adieu to all but you my Dear.
 You may all behold and see
 T'is the Fool that leads away the fair Ladie—¹² 187

Fool Im come to invite you all¹³ to my Wifes Wedding and mine and what you like best¹⁴ you may bring along with you how the duce should I know what you all like some likes fish some¹⁵ likes flesh some¹⁶ likes kissing and some likes, frummit¹⁶ but as for my part I'm a good deal the nature of my old Grandmother she talks short tongu'd and I learnt to talk after her.¹⁷ But I'll tell you what m'e Ladie and I likes and we will have it too

we will have a long tailed porridge thicken'd with barley meal
we will have a good salt herring to relish a quart of ale,¹⁸
we will provide for the wedding as fast as ever we may
we will have a jovial wedding the fiddle shall merrily play

¹ B and C add *sings.*

1 B that never will do.

B then.

'B she may come; C she may run; D writes come above run.

B through toil.

• B were.

' B at.

• B tell to me wich.

¹ B and C add *sings.*

¹⁰ B have said so.

u B these.

¹² **B** but its the fool that leads the Lady Away.

¹³ B omits.

¹⁴ B *the best*.

¹⁵ B and some.

¹⁰ The scribe of B has inserted *How the duce . . . surmity* between the lines.

¹⁷ but as for after her omitted in B and C.

¹⁸ For the second half of line 193 and for lines 194-96 B substitutes: *but I'll tell you what me Lady and mee have* [C omits *tell* and *mee have* and D supplies *tell* and *I like*];

*we'll have A leg of A lark we'll have A louse to roast
we'll have a farthing loaf and cut A good thumping toast*

Fool says Hedge about boys and I'll knock down stakes.

Ancient Man and I'll help to bind.¹

200

Fool so² now our sport is Ended
you will hear³ our voices ring.
I hope you'r well contented
so God save the King.

we're not those Lonnon actors⁴
that Hacks in Lonnon⁵ court,
we are the Country plow lads⁶
just com'd from plow and cart

[we are not the London actseers
I told you so before
we have done the best we can
so the best can do no more]⁷
So I hope you'r well contented
with what we have shown you here
I wish you a Merry Christmas
and a happy New Year,
and⁸ what you please to my box
and a sup of your Strong Beer.

210

3 Ribboners Sing God bless the Master of this House
and send him long to reign
a many merry Christmas's⁹
we wish to see him again,
amongst our Friends and Neighbours
that live both far and near.
We⁹ wish you a merry Xmas
and a happy New Year

220

Finis¹⁰

¹ B and C omit the speech of the Fool and that of the Ancient Man and have the stage direction, "3 Riboners And Lady dance."

² B omits.

³ B *you've heard*.

⁴ B *the London acsters*.

⁵ B *acts in London*.

⁶ B *Plougboys*.

⁷ This stanza is supplied from B.

⁸ B A [C and] *many A merry Christmas*.

⁹ B I.

¹⁰ B is signed "Thomas Carr 1824."

Recruiting Sergeant¹

- [Fool] In comes I noble Antony
as mad and as milde and as blithe
as your old Mantle Tree,
make room for nob[le]² Antony
and all his jovel company
I have four mery mery actors stands at the door
some can dance and some can sing,
if you will consent they shall come in
- Lady When I was a maid in blooming years
my pleasure was all in Pride, 10
my talking tonge would never be still
in service to abide,

I thought it long a young man
all in my armes to embrace
instead of a young man I met with a Clown,
was not that a sad pitufull case.
- Fool a pitufull case indeed but how can we help it I ho! I ho! where's
all this paultring poor still paultring in this place yet not perfect,
Farshame, Farshame, step forward and let your voices ring
- Sergeant, I am a Noble Sergeant 20
arrived just now,
My orders are to enlist all
that follow the Cart or the Plow.
likewise the noble Tradesman
their fortune to advance

¹ "Recruiting Sergeant" is written as prose throughout. In many cases the speakers' names are put on a separate line at the head of the speech, while in others they are run into the text. Some erasures, short lines, and flourishes are not indicated in the reprint.

The play seems to be a sophisticated dialogue whose nature is indicated by the title—supplemented by conventional fragments in the opening (ll. 1–19), the preparation for a combat that ends in a dance (ll. 40–55), and an incomplete final scene introducing the usual pair of old people (ll. 104–24). The wooing dialogue unmixed with other elements forms one of the sections of the Swinderby Play (ll. 15–80). Parts of it appear in the Cropwell, Murray-Aynsley, Hibaldstow, Kilton-in-Lindsey, and North Lincolnshire Wolds plays, while the term Ribboner for a recruit is given to characters in the Broughton Play. In a Sussex (5 *N. and Q.*, X, 489) and a Hampshire St. George play (2 *N. and Q.*, XII, 493) Jack, "with his wife and family" on his back, announces himself as Twingtwang, a recruiting officer or lieutenant of the press-gang. The motive is old enough to have become widespread among the mummers. A song, "The Recruiting Officer," in D'Urfey's *Pills*, V, 319–21, has the tone of the mummers' plays but no parallels except in the call for recruits. Still less suggestive of the plays are a song, "Cupid's Recruiting Sergeant" (*Roxb. Ball.*, VIII, 188), and Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*.

² MS is torn.

- Fool* I boy and I am a fool
to come to see you dance.
- Sergent* you a fool come to see me dance
faith I can sing and dance fool,
- [*Fool*] I can neither dance sing nor say 30
but if you begin to sing I shall go away,
- Sergent* Good people give attention
and listen to my song
I will tell you of a young man
[be]fore it be long,
he is almost broken hearted
the truth I do declare,
and beauty [h]as entised him
and drawn him in as snare
- Second Riboner* In comes I the champion bould, 40
with my bludy spere,
I won ten thousand pounds in gould,
I fought the firy dragoon
and beat him to a slawter,
and by that means I gain'd
the King of Egipets Dauter
I turned my s[e]lf round and if any man dare face me
I will ash him and smash him as small as flies,
I will send him to Jamacak to make mince pies.
- Sergent* Though talk about ashing and slashing as small as flies 50
pray the fellow let us have non of these lies,
thou will raise my blood if thou says that thing.
I will stand before the if thou be some King
- [*Second Riboner*]
No! No! no King am I you plainly see
but with my sord I will answer thee
Dance.
- [*Third Riboner, or Recruit*]
Behold me now I have lost my mate
my drooping wings is on fate
pity my condition I do declare
for this fals girl I am in dispare
- Sergent* Chear up man don't be in despair 60
for in a short time the Lady will there;

¹ Torn off.

Lady

Behold me now my lady
 with fortune and with charmes
 so shamefully how I was throughn away,
 into this loobys arms,

He swers if I don't marry him
 as you may understand,
 he will list for a souldier
 into some foreign land

Sergeant

Madame if he consent to Marry you
 as once praphaps he may
 he will list for a Soldier
 and from you run away

70

Lady

I thank you Kind Sir
 for the good advice you give
 I never mean to marry him
 while on this earth I live,
 I never mean to marry him,
 I would have you for to know
 I will have another sweetheart
 and with him I won't go

80

Fool Stand back cock me dow let my Lady and me have a little discourse
 together

Madam if you will consent to marry Me
 we will marry off at Hand
 I have gold and silver
 and that will please thee
 You shall have a servent Maid
 to wait at your command
 if you will consent to marry me;
 we will marry [off]¹ at hand

90

[Sergeant]

Come my Lads that has a [m]ind¹ for listing,
 come and go along with me
 you shall have all kind of liquers
 when you list in Company,
 and ten Guines then shall be your Bounty
 if along with me you will go.
 Your hat shall be so neatly dressed
 and we will cut a gallant show.

¹ MS. torn.

- [*Recruit*] I then kind Sir, I will take your offer 100
the time away will sweetly pass,
Dash me if I will grieve any longer
for a proud and saucy lass.
- Dame Jane* In comes the Old dame Jane,
dabbling about in the middows,
jumping about to show you such sport,
look about you old Maids and widdows
long time I have sawght you
but now I have found you,
Surry come take you[r] basterd 110
- Ancient Man* In comes the poor old ancient man
I will speek for my self the best I can.
My old grey hairs they hang so long.
I will speak for myself the best I know,
- Old Lady* Look up old man and never fere
wipe your Eyes and you will see clere,
- Old Man* Me thinks me sees yon stars shine bright
unto you I fix my hearts delight
- [*Lady*] Away! Away! from me be gon,
do you think I will fancy an old man like you, 120
I look of high degree
- [*Old Man*] Kich my Lady out of the door,
for I will be hang'd upon our Kitchen door
before I will come nigh you any more

Swinderby Dec^r 31st 1842¹

- [*Fool.*] In comes i to veiw this noble room to act most bravely
let this room be large or small or of great desarter
wee wish to act in all our acting parts
as for any further abstinence a las for him i crave
and after mee comes a soldier fine and brave

¹ The Swinderby Play is written as prose in a clear but unsteady hand. The names of the speakers are omitted throughout, but the paragraphs and particularly the curved marks indicate the changes of speakers. The heading is in a different hand, apparently not that of the other titles supplied in the volume. The play is unique in the fact that it is made up of distinct units. Between the brief and conventional introduction and conclusion there are three different wooing dialogues: first, that combined with the motive of the recruiting sergeant; second, that found in "The finishing Song" of the Bassingham Men's Play; and third, a variant of "Young Roger of the Mill" found in none of the other wooing plays.

- [*Sergeant.*] I am a noble sergeant arived here just now
my orders is to list all men that follows the cart
and plough
likewise all other trades that wishes to advance)
- [*Fool.*] I am a fool comes to see you dance
- [*Sergeant.*] You fool come to see me dance 10
- [*Fool.*] Yes
- [*Sergeant.*] faith i can sing
- [*Fool.*] I can neither dance sing nor say
but if you begin to sing i shall go away
- [*Sergeant.*] Good people give attention
and listen to my song
I will tell you of a young man
before the time be long
- he is almost brokenhearted
the truth i do declare 20
for bea[ul]ty has enticed him
and drawn him in a snare.
- [*Recruit.*] Behold those drooping wings that hangs over my pate
pity my condition and dont me disdain
pray fales girl i am in Pain
- [*Sergeant.*] O come tell me youth this maid provd false
with all her vows and flattering oaths betrayd
did her soft smothering speech ingage you to beleive
did she swear vows and then deceive 29
- [*Recruit*]¹ the heavy pai[n]² that i feel and bad enough to boy that is my
part but i care little about no nor i nor never did
- [*Lady.*] Behold the lady bright and gay
her fortune and her charms
so scornfull i was thrown away
into that lubeys harms)
- [*Recruit.*] I dont like your song maddam
- [*Lady.*] You dont like the truth sir)
- [*Recruit.*] Would you wish to offend me)

¹ Possibly the Fool is the speaker.² n missing at margin.

- [*Lady.*] Would you have me tell a lie
- [*Recruit.*] get out of my sight you sausy baggage 40
- Now since you have been so scornfull
the truth to you i will tell
i will list for a solger
and bid you farewell)
- [*Sergeant.*] If these be is thoughts maddam
pray let him go
he never means to marry you
he will prove your overthrow
- when poverty begins to pin[ch]¹
as once perhaps hit may 50
he will list for a soldier
and from you run away
- [*Lady.*] I thank you kind sir
for the good advice you gave
i never mean to marry him
wilst on this earth i live
- i never mean to marry² Him
as you may understand
you may list for a soldier
into some foreign land) 60
- [*Sergeant.*] Come you lads that his bound for listing
come and do not be afraid
you shall have all kinds of liquor
liquewise kiss the pritty maid)
- [*Recruit.*] Now kind sir i like your offer
time away shall sweetly pas
dash me if i will greive any longer
for a proud and sausy lass.
- [*Sergeant.*] Ten guineas i will give you bounty
if a long with me you will go 70
your hat it shall be drest like mine
likewise cut a gallant show

¹ Torn away.

² Folio 12 ends with *marry*. The passage from *Him* through line 72, evidently omitted from the body of the play by mistake, is added on a separate leaf (folio 15) at the end of the play.

- [*Lady.*] So now my love has listed
 and enterd volunteer
I never will greive for him
 nor for him shed one tear
- I never will greive for him
 I will let him to [k]now
I will have a nother sweetheart
 and with him i will not go 80
- [*Fool.*] I will give the gold i will give the pirl
if thou can fancy me my girl)
- [*Lady.*] It is not your gold that will me entice
to leave of[f] roving to follow your advice
for I never do attend atall
to be at any young mans call
- [*Fool.*] O go you proud and sausy dame
if you had been true i should been the same
i make no dought but i can find
as hansome a fair one to my mind 90
- [*Lady.*] Stop stay young man you seem in haste
as though you thought your time should waste
let reason rule your roving mind
and perhaps in time i shall prove more kind)
- [*Fool.*] So now my sorrows is over and past
joy and comfort is found at last
the girl that use to say me nay
she comforts [me] both night and day
 day and night
she is my joy and hearts delight 100
- Come right me down the powers above
that first created a man to love
I have a dimond in my eye
where all my joy and comfort lie)
- [*Husbandman ?*]¹ Madam if though will consent to marry me
I have got gold and silver and that as will please the
thou shall have a servant maid to wait at thy command
and we will be married and married out of hand)²

¹ This part, which is spoken by the Fool in "Recruiting Sergeant," here belongs to a different character, and was probably taken by the conventional husbandman.

² See "Recruiting Sergeant," ll. 83-91.

- [*Lady.*] O roger you are mistaken¹
 a damsel i reside 110
 I am in no such haste
 as to be a plougman's bride
 I live in hopes to gain a farmers son)
- [*Husbandman?*] If that be it good Mistress
 I will come no more i have done
 you may take your farmers son
 and wed with all my heart
 although my name be roger
 i can follow the plough and cart) 119

¹ For its relation to ll. 105-58 I print the whole of the slip-ballad "Young Roger of the Mill" from W. H. Logan's *Pedlar's Pack of Ballads and Songs* (pp. 343-44):

Young Roger of the Mill, one morning very soon,
 Put on his best apparel, new hose, and clouten shoon,
 And he a wooing went, to bonny buxom Nell,
 "Adzooks! said he, can thou fancy me, for I like thee wondrous well, well,
 For I like," &c.

It was early the next morning and on a holiday,
 Young Roger dress'd his horses and he gave them corn and hay,
 "I am come to speak my mind, what say'st thou bonny Nell?
 Adzooks! says he, can thou fancy me, for I like thee wondrous well, well."

"I thank you for your offer," the damsel she replied,
 "But I am not in such a haste to be a ploughman's bride,
 For I do live in hopes to marry a farmer's son."
 "If that be so, farewell, I'll go," said Roger, "for I have done."

"Your horses you have dress'd, I think I've heard you say,
 Made all in readiness, and having come this way
 Just sit and chat a-while;" "No, no indeed, not I,
 For I cannot sit, and cannot chat, as I've other fish to fry."

"Go take your farmer's son, with all my honest heart,
 For though my name be Hodge and I drive the plough and cart,
 I need not tarry long before I get a wife,
 There's buxom Joan 'tis very well known, she loves me as her life."

"And Oh, what is buxom Joan, cannot I suit as well?
 For she has ne'er a penny, not so has bonny Nell,
 I have got fifty shillings," the money made Hodge to smile,
 He bowed his head, and he drew a chair, and he vowed he'd chat a-while."

"So now, my dearest Nell, against next quarter day,
 If thou hast fifty shillings, why need we longer stay,
 For I have fifty more, the money a cow will buy,
 So we'll join our hands in wedlock's bands, and there's none like you and I."

This text was printed by Armstrong of Liverpool. An early slip-ballad in the Roxburghe Collection in the British Museum, Vol. III, No. 752, called "Roger of the Vale," I have not seen (see *Roxb. Ball.*, VIII, 188). Fragmentary traditional versions are found in Kidson, *Traditional Tunes*, pp. 66-68, opening, "Young Roger of the valley," and in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, I, 250, opening "Young Roger of the Mill." Both are close akin to the version printed here. Kidson states that the title of an air in Wright's *Second Book of the Flute Master Improved*, ca. 1715, is "Roger of the Vale." A version of the song occurs in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* (II, 186-88), in *The Vocal Miscellany*, third ed., I (1738), 339-40, and in *The Robin* (1749), pp. 414-15. The following variants of Ramsay's text are nearer than the slip-ballad to lines (109-10, 114-15) of the mummers' play:

Young Roger, you're mistaken, / The damsel then reply'd.
 If it be so, says Hodge, I'll go; / Sweet mistress, I have done.

On the other hand important variants from Ramsay in the concluding stanza of the slip-ballad are repeated in the play. The variations suggest that the early printed versions may have been derived from a traditional song.

[*Fool.*] Stand out you sausy clown let me lady and i have a bit of a song
together

Maddam as i walkt down the dale
one morning very soon
drest in my best aparrel
liquewise my cloughted shoes

for as I have comd a woing
to the my bucksome nell
if thou loves me as I love the
thou loves the person well.

[*Lady.*] Go get your horses drest 130
weel fed with corn : nd hay
put on your best aparrel
and then step on this way)

[*Fool.*] O no me troth not i
i have neither come to sit nor chat
i have other fish to fry
i need not tarry long
before i get a wife
here is bucksome jones
she is verry well nown 140
she loves me as her life

[*Dame Jane.*] I do my dear)

[*Lady.*¹] Why talks the of jones
cant i please the as well
for she as got no money
and I am bucksome Nell

for i have got forty shillings
and that is a glorious thing
it will [get] a lass a swettheart
as i am bucksome Nell) 150

[*Fool.*] If thou as got forty shillings love
wich i suppose you may
we will no longer tarry
than the next quarter day

for I have got fifty more love
and that a cow will buy
so we will shake hands in wedlock bands
so sing rare be Nell and I

So now we will provide for a weding diner as quick as we can
 We will have a long tald cabbage 160
 a barly pudding a salt red erring
 a limb of a larek and a louce to roast
 we will have a farding loaf
 and off] a that cut a good thumping toast
 wee will have a joval corant
 and the fiddle shall merryly play

so edge about

[*All sing.*] So now our sport is ended
 you have heard our voices ring
 I hope you are well contented 170
 and god save the Quenn

 I wish you a merry crismas
 and a happy new year
 and what you please to my box
 and a jug of your best beer.
 [*Exit Fool.*]

[*The rest sing.*]

Good Master and good Mrss
 now our fool is gone
 we make it in our buisiness
 to follow him a long

 we thank you for Sivility 180
 that you have shown us here
 so i wish you all your health,
 and a happy new Year

A Christmas Play [from Keynsham]¹

Father Christmas—

In come I, Old Father Christmas, welcome or
 welcome not
 I hope old Father Christmas will never be forgot.
 A room, a room
 I do presume
 For me and my brave gallants all
 Please Sir to give leave to rhyme
 For now I am come this merry Christmas time.

¹ This play is printed in the form given by Hunter except for italics in speakers' names and stage directions. Cantle's copy is designated C. The title is supplied from C. Only important variants are given.

Activity of Youth, Activity of Age
The like was never seen before, nor acted on the
stage.

As I walk down 10

In Warwickshire

To view the red Deer

Which runs here and there

And there I saw bold Robin Hood¹

And with my staff all on my shoulder

So soon I cleared the way

With my one two and three²

I made them for to flee

Any man do more than me.

Walk in Saint George.³ 20

Saint George— In come I, Saint George that noble Knigh[t]
Which lost my blood in English fight

This is the reason

That makes me carry this bloody weapon.

Any man do more than me.

Father Christmas—⁴

Walk in the valiant Soldier.

*Slasher*⁵— In come I the valiant Soldier bold

And Slasher is my name

Sword and buckler by my side

I warrant to win⁶ the game. 30

Saint George— Very likely!

Slasher— And very likely too!—And what makes your nose
look so red?

Saint George— And what makes your nose look so red?

Slasher— You eat more bread and cheese and drink more ale
And that will keep you from looking pale.

Saint George— Slasher, Slasher, don't be so hot
For in this place you know not whom youve got

¹ C. *Robinwood*.

² C and by *thres*.

³ *Saint George* is *King George* throughout C.

⁴ C has no new speaker.

⁵ C *Soldier* instead of *Slasher* throughout in speakers' names.

⁶ C *gain*.

⁷ Hunter queries *blue*?

Slasher. A battle, a battle let thee and I try
Which on the ground first shall lie. 40

They fight, and St George is slain.

Slasher. Five pound I would give if a noble Doctor can be found.

Enter Doctor.

Doctor. See Sir, see Sir, here comes this noble Doctor who travels much at home: Don't go about like your little Quack Doctors. I go about for the good of the country more to cure than I do to kill. Bring me an old woman that has lain¹ in the grave. If she will arise & take one of my pills, I will be bound in a fifty pound bond her life to save. Thomas!

Enter Thomas

Thomas. Yes, Sir.

Doctor. This man is not dead.

Thomas. Not dead! Sir. He has only got the tooth-ache.² I think you had better draw it, Sir. 51

Doctor (pretends to draw an immense tooth which he exhibits)³

Gentlemen, Gentlemen all

Is not this enough to kill any man at all.

I have travelled through Ireland Scotland &

France

Rise up, St. George, and have a dance.

Saint George. Terrible, Terrible, the like was never seen
Enough to frighten any man out of seven senses into
seventeen.

Any man do more than me.

Father Christmas.⁴

Walk in the Shepherdess.

Once I was a Shepherd walking on the plain 60

Courting of my Shepherdess all among the swain

¹ For that has lain O has as bin laign.

² He has only got the tooth-ache, ought apparently to be spoken by the Doctor. C reads: *Thos ans yes sir this man is not dead, & not dead he only got the Tooth ache, ans I think you had better draw him sir.*

³ Hunter supplies this stage direction.

⁴ C does not indicate a new speaker here and from this point he omits speakers' names, writing *Ans* at the beginning of each new speech.

With lines 59-74 compare "Diphillo and Granida" from Kirkman's *Wits, or Sport upon Sport*, 1673:

Enter Diphillo a Shepherd.

Diph. I once a Shepherd was upon the plains,
Courting my Shepherdess among the Swains.

. [*Ex piea Granida.* . . .

See, see, who comes here. What shining beautys this
Which takes my delight all in the shady bliss.

Shepherdess. Tis I and my harmless damsel walking on the plain
'I am lost, I am lost, I fear I shall not be found again.

Father Christmas.

Miracle thy beauty, I am sure you are no less
Mistress take this little bottle and quench your thirst.

Shepherdess— Yes kind Sir let me thank you for it first
It is very good indeed Sir,—much better may you be.
I thank you kind Sir for giving it to me.

70

Father Christmas.

If I had a thing as I could call my own
How proud and lofty I should be

Shepherdess— Thou hast said enough to shoot the dart
So let us gain the prince's heart.

Prince Good morrow, Moll, this morning gay
Where art thou going so soon this way
I have something to say to thee if thou will stay.

Shepherdess. What hast thou got to say to me
Come tell me quick and true
For here I stand spending my time to thee
I know not how.

80

But ha, what's here? What shining Beauty's this?
Which equally desires my shady bliss.

Gran. I'm lost in this dark Wilderness of care,
Where I find nothing to prevent despair.

No harmless Damsel wandring, no, nor Man:
I am afraid I shan't be found again.

I am so thirsty, that I scarce can speak.

Diph. Can she grieve thus, and not my heart-strings break?

Miracle of Beauty, for you are no less;

Water is waiting on such happiness.

It is as clear as Crystal, and as pure.

Gran. O bless me, Heavens, are you a Christian sure?

Diph. Madam, I am no less, pray quench your thirst.

Gran. Kind Sir, I will, but let me thank you first. [*Drinks.*]

Indeed 'tis good, but you must better be,

In being so courteous, as to give it me.

Diph. Praise it not, sweetest Madam, for you know

On common Creatures this we oft bestow;

If I had any worthy thing, call'd mine,

I should be proud to offer't to your Shrine.

Gran. Thou hast said enough, for Love hath shot his Dart,

And to thy Weeds I'll yield my Princely heart.

¹ Hunter queries at this point, "Does this touch upon Comus?"

- Prince* Thy father and thy mother too
Told me that we should married, married be
And so pull down thy swathful look
And swop¹ thy love on me.²
- Shepherdess* I will never marry with a cloud³
But I will have a handsome young man
To lie in bed with me.
- Prince* What dost thou talk of now
Am I not handsome enough for thee
Pray look another twich⁴

90

CHARLES READ BASKERVILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ C *swop*.² With lines 75-85 compare the following passage of the Broadway, Worcestershire, play (*Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore*, XXII, 392):*Sweet Moll walks into the room.*

St. George Sweet Moll, Sweet Moll, where art thou going,
So early and so soon?
I have something to thee to say,
If yet that thou canst stay.

Sweet Moll What hast thou got to say?
Pray tell it to me now,
For I am spending all my time
In what I can't tell how.

St. George Sweet Moll, thy parents and mine had well agreed
That married we should be,
So pull down thy lofty looks,
And fix thy love on me.

³ Evidently *clown*; C too has *cloud*.⁴ Hunter adds: "And here ends this tragi-comic Pastoral, Father Christmas here beginning to sing his Carol—of which two are commonly in use: 'While Shepherds watch their flock by night' and 'Hark the Herald Angels Sing' &c."

AN ALLUSION TO *RAOUL DE CAMBRAI*

In *Ma bella domna* of Folquet de Romans there is the following allusion to the epic *Raoul de Cambrai*:

Ma bella domna, per vos dei esser gais,
c'al departir me dones un dolz bais,
tan dolzamen lo cor del cors me trais;
lo cor avez, domna, qu'eu lo vo lais
por tal coven qu'eu no'l volh cobrar mais;
que melh non pres a Raoul de Cambrais
ne a Flori, can poget el palais,
com fez a mi, car soi fins et verais,
ma bella domna. [vv. 1-9].¹

As the reference to Floire indicates, this is an allusion to a more or less prominent scene of courtly love. In the existing version of *Raoul de Cambrai*² there is nothing to justify Raoul's reputation as an *homme à bonnes fortunes*; the only episode at all approximating a love-scene is that which deals with the appearance of Heluis at the obsequies of her lover (vv. 3657-3715), but this episode is fragmentary, and there is no reference therein to Raoul's felicity in love. Meyer and Longnon (p. 1) confess their inability to explain the allusion: "*Sans doute Raoul avait une amie, Heluis de Ponthieu; mais, au moins dans la rédaction que nous possédons, cette amie ne paraît qu'après la mort de son fiancé* [tirades CLXXX-CLXXXII]." Birch-Hirschfeld³ advanced the suggestion that *Raoul de Cambrais* was introduced because the strophe required a rhyme in *ais*—a suggestion that is far-fetched, to say the least. Zenker (p. 81) believes that the poem must have been known to Folquet de Romans in a version differing from ours; but the absence of any such version renders the suggestion purely hypothetical.⁴

¹ Edited by R. Zenker, Halle, 1896. No. 2, pp. 45-48.

² Edited by Meyer and Longnon, Paris, 1882. Société des Anciens Textes français.

³ *Ueber die den Troubadours bekannten epischen Stoffe*, p. 76.

⁴ There is no mention of Heluis in the Chronicle of Waulsort; cf. Meyer and Longnon, *op. cit.*, pp. xcix-civ. In its account of Raoul de Cambrai it undoubtedly employs an anterior version of the poem. This version, now lost, is the only one that can be posited with any degree of assurance.

Nevertheless, this intriguing little problem admits of a solution and it is in our poem itself that it is to be sought. Following their theory that the poem as we have it is divided into two distinct parts, not only on the basis of rhyme¹ but of subject-matter as well, the second part being the work of an independent continuator, Meyer and Longnon have ignored the second part of their poem in their effort to find a possible source for the allusion in Folquet de Romans. Now this effort of the editors of the critical edition to set aside Part II as having no integral relation with Part I is hardly justified; and, indeed, several critics have already posited a certain degree of relationship between the two portions of the poem. Thus G. Paris² finds that "*La fin* (i.e., of Part II) *a un caractère de si grande et si haute poésie que je ne puis me résoudre à l'attribuer au jongleur du XIII^{ème} siècle qui a composé d'autres épisodes*"; he considers that it must go back to the author of the latter portion of Part I. E. Sternberg³ considers that "*dem Geist des alten Liedes entspricht die Episode von der Wallfahrt nach Santiago. . . . Dieses Festhalten am gleichen Lokalinteresse⁴ lässt ursprünglichen Zusammenhang vermuten.*" Finally Tavernier, in his review of Fräulein Sternberg's work,⁵ confirms her viewpoint and then adds: "*Wie Ref. an anderem Ort ausführlicher begründen will, ist Raoul in der Tat eine einheitliche Dichtung.*"⁶

It is precisely in Part II of the poem that the passage referred to in the allusion of Folquet is to be sought. Laisses CCL–CCLIV form a love episode that is in sharp contrast with the rest of the poem. After an endless series of combats a reconciliation has just been effected between Bernier and Guerri. The latter takes his erstwhile antagonist with him to Arras. There Guerri's daughter, Beatrix, falls violently in love with Bernier, sends a messenger to him to bid him come to her, and when Bernier is in her presence tells him of

¹ The first 249 laisses are in rhyme; the rest of the poem is in assonance.

² *Journal des Savants*, 1887, p. 627.

³ *Das Tragische in den Chansons de Geste*, Berlin, 1915, p. 108.

⁴ She refers to the Origny episode, vv. 8371 ff.

⁵ In *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache u. Litteratur*, XLVI, p. 119.

⁶ Tavernier's death (April, 1916) prevented the appearance of the contribution that he promised; it is my intention in a subsequent paper to show that *Raoul de Cambrai* is a unified composition, and that the author of the original of Part I (which in its present form represents the "remanement" of a continuator) is identical with the author of Part II.

her love in unequivocal fashion. Bernier, reluctant to accept the damsel's love at first because of his illegitimacy, is won over by her caresses, pending her father's consent.

Upon close examination, the likelihood that Folquet had this passage in mind grows upon us. The episode itself, of considerable length as such episodes go,¹ constitutes the only love element in the poem and its occurrence in this isolated form is striking. It is written with the stereotyped technique of the "roman courtois," and consequently would be likely to impress Folquet favorably.² Then again the juxtaposition of *Raoul de Cambrai* and *Floire et Blanceflor* is significant. What is it after all that Folquet is trying to express in the strophe that I have quoted above *in extenso*? It is the felicity of the lover, or more concretely the felicity of the lover caused by the "dolz bais" of line 2. "Such happiness as was mine upon receiving the kiss of my lady," says Folquet, "could not be surpassed by that of," and then he searches in his memory for appropriate terms of comparison. He finally decides upon two; of these the reference to *Floire et Blanceflor*, which is second in the enumeration, is perfectly obvious in its connotation, for the felicity of Floire in his lady's presence is described in great detail, particularly in a passage in which there is a significant repetition of the word "baisier":

Sus s'entrequeurent sans parler

 De ses bras li uns l'autre lie,
 Et en *baisier* chascuns s'oublie,
 El *baisier* a une loée,
 Qu'il font a une reposée.
 Lor *baisiers* est de grant doucor,
 Forment les asseüre amor. (vv. 2155-64.)³

To provide this allusion with a fitting companion reference, we may imagine that Folquet searched his memory and recalled that he had read a stern tale of one Raoul de Cambrai, a tale of blood and of vengeance, and that, like an oasis in this desert of feudal passion, there occurred a [to him] delightful little episode concerning a lover

¹ Lines 5595-5765.

² Of course, at the time of the composition of Part II [c. 1200] the love treatment in the "chansons de geste" was closely akin to that of the "roman courtois." For a detailed analysis of the Bernier-Beatrix episode, cf. Krabbes, *Die Frau im altfrz. Epos*, Marburg, 1884; Vol. XVIII of Stengel's *Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen*; Index, s. v. Tochter des Gerl.

³ Edited by Edéstand Du Ménil, Paris, 1856. *Bibliothèque elzévirienne*.

whose felicity was described therein in detail, and who, like himself and like Floire, had been rendered joyful by his lady's kiss. Folquet might have had in mind such passages as these:

Si com il vienent, cort l'un l'autre *baisier*.
Ci s'entracolent nus n'en doit mervillier,
Car ele est bele et il bons chevaliers. (vv. 5665-67.)

Sor . j . brun paille li . j . lez l'autre siet,
Et li mesaiges se traist . j . poi arier,
Et cil commencent belement a plaidier
De riches diz, de toutes amisties. . . . (vv. 5674-77.)

A icest mot l'a B. acolée,
Et ele lui, grant goie ont demenée.
L'un *baise* l'autre par bone destinée. (vv. 5747-49.)

B. l'oi, si l'en a merciée,
Et a cest mot *baisie* et acolée. (vv. 5763-64)

Only the details of the poem having by this time become confused in his mind¹—it is not likely that he would have been impressed by the grim and monotonous details of combat in which the poem abounds—Raoul de Cambrai usurps in his memory the rôle which was Bernier's of right.

If this hypothesis be accepted, and I think that it is decidedly more promising than those hitherto proposed, it points to a reasonably wide dissemination of the second part of the poem, contrary to the opinion of Meyer and Longnon,² and plainly indicates that Parts I and II represented one unified composition in the mind of Folquet. This essential unity of the poem as we have seen was posited by Tavernier, and in my estimation will be confirmed by a careful study of both parts of the poem.

L. M. LEVIN

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA
VERMILLION, SOUTH DAKOTA

¹ This supposition is plausible in view of the relative chronology of the two poems. Although G. Paris considers that the second part of *Raoul de Cambrai* was composed ca. 1150 [*Journal des Savants*, 1887, p. 627], the consensus of opinion points to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century: cf. Meyer and Longnon, *op. cit.*, p. iv; Nyrop, *Ep. fr.*, p. 201; W. Kalbfleisch, *Die Realien in dem altfr. Epos "Raoul de Cambrai"*, Glissen, 1897, pp. 67-68; Gröber, in *Grundriss*, II, I, p. 567. As for *Ma bella donna*, Zenker (*op. cit.*, p. 20) places the date of its composition at between 1212 and 1220.

² *Op. cit.*, p. xlv.

MINOR DISCIPLES OF RADICALISM IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

I

In a period of intellectual and social upheaval, like that of the French Revolution, when issues of tremendous import can not be evaded by any thinking man, a characteristic phenomenon is the birth of a spirit of ardent discipleship. In such a time neutrality is out of the question. Men passionately attach themselves to those leaders who voice most eloquently the principles with which they are in sympathy. Burke, by his destructive analysis of much of the fallacious reasoning that supplied the philosophical background of the French Revolution, and by his powerful statement of the political principles upon which rested the established order, was the bulwark of congenital conservatives as well as of men of liberal spirit who were in the habit of thinking sanely and cautiously. Innumerable Englishmen there were who, appalled, like Gibbon, by "the wild measures of the savages of Gaul," saw in Burke's *Reflections* "a most admirable medicine against the French disease," and hoped that England would not be "seduced to eat the apple of false freedom."¹

On the other hand, there were restless thousands who were hostile to existing institutions. Stirred by the promise of a new social system in accord with glowing ideals of justice and universal philanthropy, they rallied, with a partisanship no less vehement, about such uncompromising radicals as Tom Paine and William Godwin. What one of his disciples, Thomas Clio Rickman, thought of Paine is a rubric on the spirit of the age. It was in Rickman's house that Paine completed the second part of *The Age of Reason*, and on the table on which it was written the admiring householder placed an appropriate commemorative tablet.² It followed naturally enough that when Joel Barlow omitted Paine's name from *The Columbiad* in fear lest Paine's

¹ *Memoirs of Edward Gibbon and a Selection from His Letters*, edited by Henry Morley, London, 1891, pp. 227, 259, 265, 273.

² *His Life of Thomas Paine*, London, 1819, p. 11.

theological opinions should militate against the sale of the book, Rickman recorded a violent judgment; such an intentional neglect in a history of America was, he declared, equivalent to the omission of "God when creation is the subject."¹ The fervors of discipleship flaunted themselves even more comically when Rickman called his unoffending and defenseless children Petrarch, Paine, Washington, Volney, and Rousseau.² The custom of thus tagging children was prevalent in democratic families, and in consequence no defender of liberty in the course of history was likely to be without his budding namesake. Such sentimental excesses invited and deserved ridicule; in an anti-Jacobin novel of the time, the satirized Rousseauist, Mr. Cloudley, names his girls, Lucretia and Amazonia, and his boys, Tom Paine, Brutus, Voltaire, and Hercules.³

Paine was a man of action, energetic and resourceful. William Godwin was of a very different temper, a phlegmatic philosopher and a harsh, exacting formalist. Yet his *Political Justice* (1793), an amalgamation of the ideas of Rousseau, Helvetius, and Holbach, announced with such dogmatic confidence the perfectibility of the race and the gradual approach of a millennium, inhabited by utterly rational, benevolent men, that many of Godwin's contemporaries, sensitive to the appeal of humanitarianism, espoused his doctrines with enthusiasm. Relish of Lamb's wit which played easily and agilely about Godwin's ponderous personality, or amusement at the old philosopher's undignified efforts to extract money from his friends and acquaintances—really a painful situation if one reads his letters with an open mind—should not blind us to the fact that throughout his life, even long after a strong tide of reaction had set in against the radicalism of the French Revolution, and when Godwin was living in seclusion, he possessed the power to win followers and to influence deeply their lives and their thought. Students of the greater romantic poets, interested in the effect of the French Revolution upon our literature, have given abundant attention to the problem of Godwin's relation to Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, and Shelley. Very

¹ Rickman, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

² *Letters of Shelley*, edited by Roger Ingpen, London, 1909, I, XXXVIII. See also *Letters from England* by Don Manuel Espriella, translated from the Spanish. First American edition, Boston, 1808, p. 105.

³ Charles Lucas, *The Infernal Quizote*, 4 vols, London, 1801.

wisely, emphasis has been laid, for example, upon *The Borderers* as Wordsworth's disillusioned judgment of the philosophy of reason, and upon Shelley's letter of self-introduction and revealing correspondence with his chosen master.

A reading of the minor literature of the period—memoirs, letters, and diaries—discloses more fully the extent and character of Godwin's influence. Just as these intimate, personal records reveal the human situation, sometimes humorous, sometimes distressing, which was created when fervid young idealists avowed their sympathy with anarchistic thought, so we see the great poets in a different perspective and are more tolerant of their enthusiasms. In justice to Godwin it might be said that in spite of all his faults, his friendship for the young men who sought him out partook somewhat of the spirit that Johnson ascribes to Jordan of Pembroke College: "Whenever a young man becomes Jordan's pupil, he becomes his son." Relatives and friends who did not share the enthusiasm of the younger generation for the new doctrines were, however, alarmed and bitterly resentful against Godwin when they discovered that youths to whom they were attached had been corrupted, as they believed, by the principles of *Political Justice*. Dr. Samuel Parr, after his famous Spital Sermon in which he unmasked Godwin's theory of universal benevolence, was pressed for an explanation of his conduct. In reply he returned Godwin's gift of *St. Leon* unread, and broke off his friendship by letter, bluntly telling Godwin that one of his reasons for doing so was his realization of "the dreadful effects of your opinions upon the conduct, the peace, and the welfare of two or three young men, whose talents I esteemed, and whose virtues I loved."¹ It is not difficult to understand how it was that at a time when principles were either bitterly attacked or passionately defended, the issues of the French Revolution tended to disrupt social life; Gibbon's half-angry lament over the discordant social intercourse of Lausanne might have been repeated in almost any city or town in England.

Such a study as this in which we shall be concerned with men whom, for convenience, we may call Godwin's minor disciples, will give fuller meaning to Crabb Robinson's claim that "the French Revolution turned the brains of many of the noblest youths in England," and that

¹ Kegan Paul, *William Godwin*, 2 vols, London, 1876, Vol. I, p. 383.

in their allegiance to its doctrines some were wrecked, and some lived to laugh at their youthful extravagance.¹ One is bound to misjudge these young idealists if he does not constantly recognize their errors as frequent, but their motives as pure and unselfish. Little is accomplished in the way of a critical estimate if one sees the revolutionary spirits merely as hair-brained visionaries deserving of laughter or censure. On such an unsympathetic attitude toward independent thought, Louisa Alcott uttered a wise word of explanation; she had in mind the sad failure of her father's scheme of an utopian community at Fruitlands. "To live for one's principles, at all costs, is a dangerous speculation; and the failure of an ideal, no matter how humane and noble, is harder for the world to forgive and forget than bank robbery or the great swindles of corrupt politicians."² Too many contemporaries of the French Revolution as well as its subsequent critics forgot—Professor James phrased the idea admirably—that, scorned though they be by the world, "faiths and utopias are the noblest exercise of the human reason."

II

Francis Place, a familiar and esteemed name in the history of English radicalism, had a remarkable career (1771–1854). His account of his early life is an extraordinary narrative, tragically earnest, distressingly vivid, telling of a cruel struggle with privation and of the efforts of a self-respecting, persevering workingman to make good and to keep from being swept to ruin in the social undertow.³ His father was, in turn, keeper of a debtor's prison, proprietor of a public-house, and gambler. At home he was a brute who struck at his children with his fist whenever he chanced to encounter them in the passageway. Place, as a child, knew all the poverty, vice, and degradation to be found in the slums of eighteenth-century London. By sheer force of character and native intelligence he worked his way

¹ *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, 2 vols., Boston, 1898, Vol. I, p. 35.

² "Transcendental Wild Oats" in *Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands*, compiled by Clara Endicott Sears, New York, 1915, p. 169.

³ Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, London, 1898. The material for his work Mr. Wallas obtained from Place's unpublished autobiography and the huge collection of Place MSS (seventy volumes), in the British Museum. The autobiographical narrative forms the bulk of the first chapter.

up from the position of journeyman breeches-maker to that of a prosperous tailor with a splendid shop of his own in Charing Cross, and, self-educated, he fitted himself to become the welcome companion and intimate friend of James Mill and Jeremy Bentham.

Place, when a young man of twenty-two, became acquainted with *Political Justice* immediately upon its publication, for it was in 1793, he tells us, that Godwin led him to disbelieve in abstract rights. Moreover, strange as it may seem, in spite of the visionary character of much of its speculation, this book influenced Place to his profit in a most practical fashion. It appears that he long had been anxious to become an independent employer on his own account, but that he had been hampered by the honorable fear that the debts he would be compelled to contract in order to establish himself would, if he should fail, involve others in disaster. In addition he was haunted by a dread of personal ruin and the painful uncertainty of such an enterprise as he contemplated. "Mr. Godwin's book extinguished this fear in me. It led me to reason on the matter, and convinced me that a man might turn others to account in every kind of undertaking without dishonesty, that the ordinary tricks of tradesmen were not necessary, and need not be practiced. This was to me the most grateful kind of knowledge I could acquire, and I resolved to lose no time in putting it into practice."¹ This was in 1795. Four years later, Place opened his own tailor shop in Charing Cross—the shop which in time became notorious as the meeting place of liberal politicians and reformers of various creeds who met in a back room, surrounded by Place's splendid collection of radical books.² Although Godwin's critics, panic-stricken defenders of the traditional moral order—novelists like George Walker and Charles Lucas, and ministers like Robert Hall and Samuel Parr—were probably just in their denunciation of Godwinian individualism as sanctioning a dubious egoism;³ yet, as Place's conduct indicates, the doctrine could and did operate beneficially. It encouraged his initiative and stimulated his energies, and all this with due regard for the rights of others. Many years later, when he had met Godwin, and when he was able to express a

¹ Wallas, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

² *Op. cit.*, chap. vii.

³ See present writer's article, "The Reaction against William Godwin," *Modern Philology*, XVI (1918), 225 ff.

mature judgment, Place, with a deep sense of his obligation, told Godwin that to the influence of his writings he owed all those qualities which he respected most in himself.¹

Godwin speculated about social problems with a peculiarly frigid detachment from the swirling current of contemporary affairs. Rarely did he issue from his study to exchange the rôle of an imperturbable philosopher for that of an eager combatant. In 1794 in his pamphlet, *Strictures on Judge Eyre's Charge*, he powerfully attacked the position of the government in its prosecution of Hardy, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke for treason, and upon their acquittal was hailed as their savior.² In 1795 in his *Considerations on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Pitt's Bills concerning Treasonable and Seditious Practices*, he defended the government in its attempt to check the activities of overzealous reformers and was, accordingly, charged with inconsistency and disloyalty by Thelwall who felt Godwin had gone out of his way to abuse men with whose principles he was fundamentally in sympathy.³ But such methods of challenging public attention were very exceptional with Godwin. This was not the case with his followers, however. They did not, as a rule, imitate his habitual aloofness. The youthful Place, like Shelley many years later, was eager to expedite social evolution, and as his mind ripened and his interests widened, he associated himself, more practically than Shelley it must be confessed, with movements that aimed at the amelioration of social and political conditions.

From 1793 Place was active as an organizer of trades-unions and protective societies for workingmen. In June, 1794, at the request of his landlord, he joined the London Corresponding Society, founded two years previously by Thomas Hardy, the shoemaker, for the purpose of securing universal suffrage and annual parliaments. Place's

¹ Wallas, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

² Tooke, who always looked upon *Political Justice* with irreverent skepticism, at first doubted whether the visionary Godwin was capable of delivering such a hard, direct blow at a concrete wrong as had been effected in the pamphlet against Eyre. But when at a dinner at which both were guests, Godwin assured him of the authorship, Tooke kissed the philosopher's hand, "vowing that he would do no less by the hand that had given existence to that production." Passage from Godwin's diary in Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, I, 147.

³ Charles Cestre, *John Thelwall*, London, 1906, p. 137 and Appendixes II, III; the *Tribune*, a periodical publication, consisting chiefly of the political lectures of John Thelwall, 3 vols., London, 1796, Preface of Vol. II.

See present writer's article, "William Godwin's Influence upon John Thelwall," *PMLA*, XXXVII, No. 4.

procedure at this time did the highest credit to his courage and earnestness of conviction. Hardy, Thelwall, and their fellow-radicals had been arrested in May, and were awaiting trial. The action of the government had terrified many members into withdrawal from the Society, with the result that its membership was so depleted that Place and many sincere men like him felt it a moral obligation to join the Society when its existence was threatened. The superior abilities of Place soon made themselves felt, and he became a delegate to, and later the chairman of, the influential General Committee which met in Thelwall's lecture-room in the Beaufort Buildings in the Strand. Along with John Thelwall and John Binns, Place was one of the speakers at the notorious public meeting at Copenhagen House on October 26, 1795, where a vast crowd of liberals, estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand, assembled to protest against the war with France. As the meeting was followed a few days later by an attack on the king, when he was on his way to Parliament, the Ministry, panic-stricken, rushed through the Pitt-Grenville Bill for the suppression of gatherings of a supposed seditious character. From the first, the government had suspected that the Corresponding Society was in secret league with the French Jacobins, and had regarded its announced purpose, parliamentary reform, as merely a disguise for its actual intention, the overthrow of the monarchy and establishment of a republic. This charge Place brands as "a base lie," but John Binns, chairman of the meeting at Copenhagen House, affirms that secretly many avowed the destruction of the government as the real aim of the organization.¹ The suspicious attitude of the government was parallel to that of our own contemporaries who, in every country outside of Russia, justly view with distrust certain labor-groups and parlor-reformers because there is widespread uncertainty as to the exact nature of their relation to the Soviet.

These matters, although they do not bear directly on Place's relationship to Godwin, nevertheless deserve more than passing mention because they demonstrate that the young idealist living in the cool gray cloisters of a university, a Coleridge or a Southey, was not the only type of man that was stirred by *Political Justice*. Place

¹ Wallas, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 27. Charles Cestre, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 123. *Recollections of the Life of John Binns*, written by himself, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 45.

was not a poet, but, as we have seen, an energetic, practical reformer, who had battled with the most sharp-edged of life's realities, and was himself one of the very class that has always been bruised most by the heel of oppression. The contrast is arresting and illuminative of the spirit of the age: the appeal of Godwin to the young intellectuals of Oxford and Cambridge as well as to the hard-working young tailor and intelligent labor-leader of Charing Cross.

Just because he "had benefited in no small degree by his writings"—the words are Place's own—Place cordially welcomed in 1810 Godwin's offers of friendship. What follows is a sordid tale. The real motive for Godwin's advances was soon disclosed. Having heard, in all probability, of Place's prosperity and his interest in the doctrines of *Political Justice*, Godwin sought financial assistance, and claimed that if he could receive three thousand pounds, his present embarrassment would be relieved, and his book business permanently stabilized. Many years later in his diary, Place makes the serious charge that the accounts which were presented to substantiate the request were deliberately tampered with to make out a good case. Whatever the facts of the matter, Godwin was to be pitied. He was a wretched creature, compelled in 1808 to open his book-shop under the feigned name of Edward Baldwin on account of the bitter prejudice against him, and now, in such an emergency, driven to bay for lack of funds. In 1811 he wrote to Mrs. Godwin how he suffered when he discovered that a note from Place for £140 fell due in a few days.¹ In 1814, as was, however, almost inevitable, Place, after an exchange of bitter letters, became alienated from Godwin.² Ironically enough, the acquaintance that he had welcomed had cost him £400, a high price for philosophical inspiration. As for Godwin, one must deplore the circumstances that made him exact such high taxes from his friends and disciples. His reputation has suffered severely in consequence.

An impressive example of the parentage of ideas, embodied in epoch-making books, is the fact that Malthus' famous *Essay on Population* (1798), which suggested to Darwin his conception of the struggle for existence, was itself the outgrowth of a critical attitude toward some of Godwin's remarks in his essay on *Avarice and Pro-*

¹ Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, II, 182.

² Wallas, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58, 59.

fusion in *The Enquirer* (1797). In its inception, Malthus' *Essay*, which in later editions was much revised, was a reaction against the revolutionary doctrine of perfectibility and, for the most part, consisted of a refutation of Condorcet and Godwin. It is a contention of Malthus that population always tends to increase more rapidly than the means of subsistence. The number of persons in need of food would consequently, in a short time, be far greater than the number the food-supply could satisfy were it not for the beneficently fatal effects of misery, vice, war, and pestilence which are nature's instruments for the maintenance of a balance between population and the means of subsistence. Misery and vice, then, are necessary evils since it is their function to cut down the population until it is proportional to the food-supply. At this point Malthus takes issue with Godwin. The latter, insisting upon reason as man's supreme attribute, had argued that as it came to exercise gradually increasing authority over the conduct, social evolution would be hastened until there would finally arrive a millennium in which the lower impulses of our nature would be under the complete control of mind. Against Godwin, Malthus, rejecting the conception of man as a purely intellectual being, and the whole idea of the ultimate extirpation of sexual passion, contends that the strength of the generative instinct will always act to increase the population beyond the food-supply, vice and misery will always be the agents by which overpopulation must be checked, and progress toward a millennium is impossible. To attempt to ameliorate human suffering is futile, because the moment it is relieved in any quarter, the birth-rate pushes the population up to and beyond the extreme limits of subsistence, and in a short time the same wretchedness exists as before.

It is not difficult to see why most revolutionary liberals recoiled in horror from the cynicism of the Malthusian theory. They resented the implication that their faith in social improvement was absurdly visionary, and that vice and misery must be accepted as a matter of course—in fact, as blessings in disguise to prevent worse calamities. They rightly saw that the tendency of such a theory which accounts for misery as a permanent force in society is to give tremendous sanction to things as they are, and to make men complacent in the presence

of misery. This is Godwin's feeling in his soberly considered reply to Malthus in his *Thoughts on Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon* (1801). Reluctant to relinquish his optimism, he points out that as intelligence advances, prudence, now only moderately influential, may be relied upon to accomplish the results now accredited by Malthus solely to the operation of misery and vice.

The Malthusian controversy drew Place into its current. In the first place, it involved Godwin who had been to him a source of intellectual stimulus, and in the second place, it raised issues that had to be faced by every social reformer, no matter what his stripe. With the numerous economic questions discussed in Place's book, *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population*, we are not concerned. What is significant for our purpose is the fact that although Place accepted the Malthusian doctrine, yet the principle which he energetically advocated was that of moral restraint. In other words, he pays marked deference to the very idea by which Godwin had moderated the stark severity of Malthus' theory in its original form.¹ His practice conformed to his theory. Whenever he could in newspaper articles or in discussion with workingmen, he preached the doctrine of self-control, and, in consequence, gained so much notoriety that people shunned him.²

Place's opinion as to these problems enables him to hold fast to his faith in social evolution. In proportion as moral considerations act as a check upon unlimited child-bearing, and education in these matters is successfully carried on among the poor, he is convinced that vice and misery will gradually decrease.³ For this unshaken belief in social improvement, Place definitely records his indebtedness to Godwin.⁴ Indeed, the conception of society, not as inflexible or static, but as capable of growth and infinite change, was one of the most valuable contributions of philosophical radicalism to thought in the eighteenth century. This idea which Godwin borrowed from Helvetius is the core of *Political Justice*, and accounts largely for the appeal of the book to the imagination of the time. Although there is

¹ *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population*, London, 1822, pp. 9, 15, 164.

² Wallas, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

³ Place, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

no evidence to show that Place accepted any of the grotesque phases of Godwin's theory, yet the fact remains that Godwin had excited his interest in social progress, and had convinced him of its truth in principle, if not in all those specific, minute details upon which Godwin had ventured to the point of absurdity.¹

In contrast to Place, Shelley took his stand unequivocally outside the ranks of the Malthusians. For him the doctrine is a mere "sophism" and is "calculated to lull the oppressors of mankind into a security of everlasting triumph."² In its appearance at this time he sees only further evidence of that spiritual exhaustion that, following the failure of the idealism of the revolutionary period, had been infecting both imaginative literature and philosophical speculation. When, in a spirit of militant pride, Shelley confesses to "a passion for reforming the world," he states it as his uncompromising preference that he would "rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon than go to Heaven with Paley and Malthus."³ Moreover, Shelley is far from admitting that Malthus had overturned Godwin's perfectibility-theory. He contends that when Malthus, in the later editions of his *Essay*, considers that, in civilized societies, moral restraint tends to keep a check upon population just as do vice and misery in savage communities, he disarms his doctrine of its menace, and eliminates the very element that was inimical to social improvement. Shelley scores his point in a note of triumph. Malthus' concession "reduces the *Essay on Population* to a commentary illustrative of the unanswerableness of *Political Justice*."⁴

¹ One of Godwin's contemporaries justly reminds us that the follies of his perfectibility-theory were, in a measure, countenanced by the extravagances of even such a scientist as Franklin, and, in proof, he quotes from the latter's letter to Priestley (February 8, 1780): "We may perhaps learn to deprive large masses of their gravity, and give them absolute levity, for the sake of easy transport. Agriculture may diminish its labours, and double its produce; all diseases may, by sure means, be prevented or cured (not excepting even that of old age), and our lives lengthened at pleasure, even beyond the antediluvian standard." *An Enquiry concerning the Population of Nations*, George Enson, London, 1818, p. 84.

These ideas as to the diminution of toil, the elimination of disease, and longevity are elements in Godwin's conception of a millennium, and are the grounds on which he was frequently mercilessly satirized.

² Preface, *The Revolt of Islam*.

³ Preface, *Prometheus Unbound*.

⁴ Preface, *The Revolt of Islam*, footnote. See James Bonar, *Malthus and His Work*, New York, 1885, pp. 212, 213, 214, for Coleridge's comments on Malthus.

III

In his autobiographical fragment, *Memoirs from Childhood*, William Hone (1780-1842), the notorious radical whose name is of such frequent occurrence in letters and diaries of the early decades of the nineteenth century, throws light on the currents of anti-revolutionary opinion.¹ His experience is an amusing and very human example of just what was likely to happen when the disciple of Godwinism was extremely immature. In Hone's account we can glimpse a panic-stricken parent, and imagine his angry expostulations as well as the youthful bravado with which the opinions, sharply challenged, were defended. Moreover, when the antecedents of Place and Hone are compared, one realizes in what contrasting environments Godwin's disciples were apt to spring up. Hone's father, a poor solicitor's assistant, was pious and conscientious. He restricted his son to a rigorous fare, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Paradise Lost*, the *Book of Martyrs*, and the *Dictionary of All Religions*. But even such austere reading did not render the boy immune from heretical doctrines then circulating in every stratum of society. Hone afforded only another instance of the capitulation of "the seven deadly virtues" to revolutionary liberalism.

Hone's deviation from traditional belief took place in his sixteenth year just about the time that he had been reading the *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*. He was a clerk in a solicitor's office, and became intimate with a bold young convert to the new philosophy who had gorged himself upon Godwinian sophistries, the omnipotence of reason, the ultimate abolition of government, and the millennial joys of absolute freedom. Stung by the ridicule with which his conservative notions were treated by this confident, superior youth, his elder by three long years, Hone surrendered to the "undeniable" arguments, and became convinced of the doom of Christianity and the authority of reason. The mischief, thus accomplished, was completed when Hone joined the London Corresponding Society, and in this and in other debating clubs with which he became affiliated, heard all the liberal doctrines of the day discussed with unremitting ardor.² The

¹ *Memoirs from Childhood* was published for the first time in Frederick Hackwood's valuable book, *William Hone, His Life and Times*, London, 1912. The *Memoirs* constitute the second chapter.

² I doubt the correctness of Mr. Hackwood's inference that the book which Hone says convinced him "that in Nature there was nothing but Nature" was by Godwin. Hone's words do not describe Godwin's philosophy, nor was anything that Godwin ever wrote, published, as far as I am aware, "in six-penny numbers."

distress of the elder Hone was great. He remonstrated with his son in vain; the individualistic philosophy had done its work. The youth defied his father and questioned his right to control him, "determined," he says "not to be swayed."

Hone remained loyal to his new principles for two years, and thought and read about them abundantly. Finally, when he sought outside the realm of mere speculation for concrete evidence of their actuality, he candidly admits that he found not a shred of proof, and forthwith his faith began to collapse. In the meantime, the elder Hone withdrew his son from the office in which he had been exposed to such shocking influences, and placed the young radical under a solicitor at Chatham who compelled him to attend church with humiliating regularity. But the end was not yet in sight. One day the disciple happened to see a philosopher who had preached perfectibility—undoubtedly Godwin—give way to violent rage at a trivial disappointment. This chance display of passion, that would have been "inexcusable" even in a child, hastened Hone's disillusionment, and from that moment he lost interest in the works of a man who had asserted the power of reason. Philosophers are sometimes like princes who, as Gibbon remarks, "to be admired must be seen in their proper point of view, which is often a pretty distant one."

Hone's rebellion against parental authority was only a typical instance of the demoralizing effect of individualistic doctrines upon immature minds, if we are to believe contemporary writers. According to their temperament, people who were completely content in the armchair of traditional opinion, viewed with alarm, disgust, or amusement the vogue of the new ideas among the younger generation. Hannah More laments the decay of filial obedience and complains that her contemporaries, regaled with endless discussions of the rights of adults, male and female, may now expect "grave descants on the rights of children."¹ In doggerel verse an anonymous critic of Paine burlesques the doctrine of equality thus:

Should a fond father say unto his son,
"Jacky, my dear, go, . . . hither bring my wig,"
The little rogue would think it exc'llent fun
To say—"not I, I'm equal, tho' not big."²

¹ *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, 3d edition, 2 vols., London, 1799, I, 145.

² *The Reformers*. A satirical poem. Edinburgh, 1793.

Nor was fiction indifferent to this issue of youthful independence. Dorothea Melville, the heroine of a three-volume anti-Godwinian novel, was put early under the care of a governess who was a disciple of the new philosophy. To such an extent was she imposed upon by the bold principles of her teacher that at sixteen Dorothea was an aggressive expounder of "the truth." She was stirred by the rights and wrongs of her sex, and shed tears "over the sublime ebullitions of Godwin's dear son, Caleb Williams." Acting upon her newly acquired beliefs she throws off the yoke of her governess; such control she resented as a form of despotism.¹

Of just such a situation Hone's proceedings were a fairly exact replica in actual life, and because the clash of opinion between the older and the younger generation is a profoundly significant and recurrent social phenomenon, modern literature, it is relevant to point out, has been neither unobservant nor silent. In *Rosmersholm*, Ibsen depicts a parallel struggle in our own time. Schoolmaster Kroll has the psychology of his type; he is the rigidly conservative parent, unspeakably shocked when he discovers that new ideas have invaded his own home and that his children are the adherents of a radical journalist. We may be certain that Kroll's hostility to the editor of the *Searchlight* re-echoes with authentic realism and under changed conditions the feeling of many an eighteenth-century father against the author of *Political Justice*.

IV

It seemed ordained that in the last decade of the eighteenth century nearly every young man of active intelligence and quick sympathy should, to a greater or less extent, be infected by revolutionary principles. Basil Montague, the mutual friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge and inadvertently responsible for their tragic estrangement, caught the contagion of Godwinism in his young manhood. His social position was very different from that of either Place or Hone. The natural and acknowledged son of the Earl of Sandwich, he received a splendid education at the Charterhouse and at Christ's College, Cambridge.² In 1795 he left the university town and went to London

¹ *Dorothea, or a Ray of the New Light*, London, 1801, I, 14, 15.

² Montague's long and interesting autobiographical letter is in the *Memoirs of the Life of Sir James Mackintosh*, edited by his son, 2d edition, 2 vols., London, 1836, I, 149 f.

where he found that Godwin's startling ideas about universal benevolence, omniscient reason, gratitude, and marriage were in the full tide of discussion. As he says, "It is scarcely possible to conceive the extensive influence which these visions had upon society." For a time Montague himself felt the spell of these ideas, and his conduct was affected accordingly. He had long been an ardent student of law, but Godwin's denunciation of the legal profession as a buttress of a fraudulent social structure made him recoil from the pursuit in which he had been engaged.

One incident which Montague recounts is trivial in itself, but it is significant of the hostility aroused by many of Godwin's fundamental ideas. In *Political Justice*, gratitude along with friendship, family affection, and patriotism had been dismissed from the company of the virtues because these feelings limit our benevolence to those to whom we are attached, whereas justice requires that the good we are able to do should not be regulated by personal preference, but by the capacity of the individual we help to aid mankind. Obviously, according to this view, gratitude is in conflict with universal philanthropy, and hence anything but a virtue. As a loyal Godwinian, John Thelwall, for example, is thoroughly consistent when he carefully explains in one of his published lectures that his regard for the lawyers responsible for his acquittal in the state-trials of 1794 is not gratitude, but esteem for their service to liberty.¹ At another lecture Thelwall is no less consistent when he refuses admiration to canine fidelity, scorning that among human virtues should be placed that gratitude which an indiscriminating dog, ignorant of Godwinism, manifests to his benefactor, whether he be an assassin or an honest householder. Small wonder that Thelwall was repeatedly interrupted by the derisive laughter of his audience.² Similarly young Montague was ideological and true to form as a Godwinian; unabashed, he evidently paraded his novel ideas. At any rate, he was introduced to Sheridan as a man who believed that gratitude was a vice. Sheridan replied: "I always thought that *reading* was a vice, and I am now convinced of it."

Conservative public opinion concurred with Sheridan. When it was reported to Burke that Godwin looked upon gratitude as nothing

¹ *The Tribune*, I, 222 f.

² *Introductory Discourse on the Nature and Objects of Elocutionary Science*, Pontefract, 1805. A Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Edinburgh, 1804.

less than a crime, he said that he would see to it that the philosopher was given no excuse for committing that sin.¹ Of course, the *Anti-Jacobin* did not overlook this kink in Godwin's ethical system. In the sixth number appeared the comical letter of Letitia Sourby who laments the topsy-turvydom of her home since her father, "a respectable manufacturer in the calico line," became befuddled over Godwinism. He embarrasses her mother by asserting before company that he would prefer concubinage, and declaring gratitude to be "a bad passion," quarrels with his landlord because the latter had formerly made him a loan to set him up in business. Mr. Sourby is full of resentment; "he said he could not abide a man who had laid upon him the weight of an obligation." These are indications of the temper of the time, and suggest the intellectual atmosphere which young Montague encountered when he came up to London from Cambridge.

Montague was not, however, so confirmed in his opinions as to be inhospitable to criticism. He kept his mind open, and deliberately sought out people who were capable of discussing the merits or the defects of the new philosophy. In this liberal spirit he saw to it that (at the home of a common friend) he met Sir James Mackintosh, the eminent publicist, who, as he had heard, had thought deeply and much upon the unsettling questions of the hour, and was interested in young men with inquiring minds. Mackintosh weighed Montague's difficulties with infinite tact and courtesy, and gradually set him in the way of looking at the Godwinian doctrines from a new angle. Especially did he urge the young inquirer to read Jeremy Taylor and Lord Bacon, and to test his ideas by observation and experience.

The upshot was that in his eagerness for enlightenment Montague read through *The Advancement of Learning* in a single day. The passage in Book I which impressed Montague most deserves quotation because it is an eloquent commentary on anarchistic philosophy:

In Orpheus' theatre all beasts and birds assembled, and forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening to the airs and accords of the harp, the sound whereof no sooner ceased or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit—

¹ Review of *Zeal without Innovation* in Vol. II of *Works of Robert Hall*, New York, 1832.

of lust—of revenge; which, as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence, and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion.¹

Montague recognized that here Bacon shatters the dream that man is by nature rational and benevolent and does not need the restraining influence of law and government. About this time, moreover, Montague visited a jail to aid a prisoner who was to go on trial for his life. The felons met him with insult, and the announcement of his generous purpose was greeted with, "Damn you, you scoundrel, you will be hanged yourself in a week." This welcome was more than enough to unsettle even a man who had probably read about the virtuous thieves in *Caleb Williams*. At any rate, Montague's unpleasant glimpse into the pure heart of man chastened his optimism, and he began to be "very sceptical upon the soundness of modern philosophy."

Taylor's *Discourse of the Nature, Offices, and Measures of Friendship* also aided in effecting Montague's cure. In this noble essay, written in answer to Mrs. Katherine Philips' inquiry as to "how far a dear and a perfect friendship is authorized by the principles of Christianity," Jeremy Taylor seems to have anticipated Godwin's arguments against friendship as incompatible with true justice. Taylor has the wisdom to see that universal benevolence, in the absolute sense which Godwin conceived it, is an impracticable ideal. Christianity teaches that we extend our good-will to all mankind; the more fellow-beings we embrace within the circle of our love, the better and the richer shall we be, but it is inevitable from the limitations of our being and the conditions of our existence that our interest will be less in those who are unseen and unknown to us. We are bound to love more those who have benefited us, whom we recognize as worthy of our affection, and with whom we have been associated in the intimacy of daily contact. Moreover, to be attached to him who has aided us is not, as Godwin maintained, ignoble egoism. Those qualities of character by which a friend is enabled to serve us—his generosity or his sagacity as the case may be—are precious virtues, "the

¹ I have given the passage as quoted by Montague who has omitted a few words at the very beginning.

impresses of God upon the spirits of brave men," and Christianity sanctions our love for the possessors of them. That Montague was impressed by this happy reconciliation of idealism and common sense is not surprising.

It is difficult to judge from Montague's autobiographical letter to Mackintosh's son just how long he remained an adherent of Godwinism. But I believe that his enthusiasm for the new philosophy was rapidly evaporating during the first six months of 1796. Montague surmises that Sir James Mackintosh, observing the good he had done the young radical, was inspired to give in 1799, for public benefit, his lectures upon "The Law of Nature and Nations." These lectures in which Godwin said he was treated "like a highwayman or an assassin," Montague was invited to attend, and he did so with profit and delight.¹ His interest in Bacon, stimulated by Mackintosh, remained with him all his life, and resulted, finally, in the publication of an edition of Bacon said to be the best before that of Spedding. Montague's attempt to deal leniently with Bacon aroused Macaulay, and the famous *Essay* followed in the *Edinburgh Review* (July, 1837). Thus by a curious chain of circumstances Godwin became indirectly responsible for one of the most widely read of Macaulay's works.

According to Kegan Paul, Montague became acquainted with Godwin in 1795, and he soon became his intimate friend. In 1797 the men journeyed together through Staffordshire, and visited such celebrities as the Wedgewoods, Dr. Samuel Parr, and Robert Bage, author of the revolutionary novel, *Hermesprong*. A few months after their return, Mary Wollstonecraft was on her death-bed, and during the terrible days of suspense Montague was constantly by Godwin's side. At the end he had charge of the funeral arrangements, and for his incessant kindness deservedly gained Godwin's appreciation.² It is very evident that however Montague's philosophical opinions had changed, the friendship of the master and former disciple remained steadfast.

¹ For Godwin's account of his controversy with Mackintosh, see his pamphlet, *Thoughts Occasioned by . . . Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon* (1801). For Coleridge's consoling letter to Godwin, see Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, II, 11.

² Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, I, 247-67; 274-83. Godwin, *Memoirs and Posthumous Works of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin*, 2 vols., Dublin, 1798, I, 109-10.

In *Nightmare Abbey*, Peacock, pleasantly satirizing Coleridge's later conservatism, says that the poet concluded that "the overthrow of the feudal fortresses of tyranny and superstition was the greatest calamity that had ever befallen mankind and that their only hope now was to rake the rubbish together and rebuild it without any of those loopholes by which the light had originally entered." This was not the case with Basil Montague. Amusingly enough on a joint visit to Kenilworth Castle Godwin found Montague a very unsatisfactory companion. Montague resisted the romantic appeal of the ruin; not experiencing any of the divine enthusiasm "which swept over Godwin's soul," he railed against the display of aristocratic splendor and rejoiced at its destruction.¹ The truth is that Montague remained throughout his life, if not a Godwinian radical, at least a liberal in thought and action. He enlisted in generous causes, working for justice and humanity. He co-operated with Sir Samuel Romilly in his effort to reform the penal code, publishing pamphlets against capital punishment for trivial causes, and founded in 1809 the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge upon Punishment of Death. Again, with praiseworthy tolerance, he wrote in behalf of the Jews who were excluded from the House of Parliament.² Only in a qualified sense, then, can Basil Montague be regarded as a deserter from the ranks of reform. He was never, like Wordsworth, a "lost leader" who was able so far to forget the sympathies of his youth as to write a whole series of unctuous sonnets against the abolition of the extreme penalty.

V

Crabb Robinson's *Reminiscences* have long been in the hands of students of the period, and to comment upon his relations with Godwin may seem a work of supererogation.³ But, as a matter of fact little attention has been paid to the earlier parts of the *Reminiscences*, and in the present instance to ignore Robinson's account of his experience as a youthful radical is to neglect interesting and vivid facts,

¹ Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, I, 265-66.

² *A Letter to Henry Warburton upon the Emancipation of the Jews*. Second edition. London, 1833.

³ *Reminiscences*, chapters I-v inclusive.

reinforcing what has already been said about Godwin's appeal to the young men of his time. Having had his period of allegiance to revolutionary idealism, and suffered sharp criticism in consequence, Robinson was morally prepared for his later friendship with Wordsworth and Coleridge. Robinson, denounced by Dr. Robert Hall as the contaminator of youth, and Wordsworth, compelled as a suspected radical to give up Alfoxden, had had a common experience that quickened mutual sympathy and hastened an understanding of each other's vicissitudes.¹ It was not chance that moved the poets to include within the circle of their intimate friends men like Basil Montague and Crabb Robinson.

An impeccable logic led Dissenters to sympathize with the French Revolution. In the realm of thought they had asserted the rights of the individual judgment against dogmatic external authority, and had long been the victims of unjust social and political discrimination.² It was but a step from individualism in matters of conscience to individualism in politics. Naturally the Dissenters rejoiced in the new doctrine of liberty and the fall of arbitrary power which seemed to vindicate the principles for which they had long contended and suffered, and to promise the end of persecution. Godwin and Hone were both Dissenters, and Crabb Robinson likewise.³ Even in childhood Robinson had come to feel that he was a member of a persecuted sect, and as a boy sympathized with Dr. Priestley who had suffered outrageously in a Church and King riot in Birmingham. Before he was twenty years of age, Robinson became associated with the liberals of Norwich, contributed to a radical paper an article on *Spies and Informers*, and followed with demoralizing anxiety the trials of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall for treason. When at six in the morning he finally heard of Hardy's acquittal, he dashed about banging on people's doors and shouting out the news. The next year when Hardy came to Norwich, pursuing his trade of shoemaker, Robinson gave him an order for boots, as he continued to do for many years.

With a background such as these experiences provided, it is not surprising that Robinson was profoundly impressed by *Political*

¹ G. M. Harper, *William Wordsworth*, 2 vols., London, 1916, I, 323-29.

² For the relation of the Non-conformists to the French Revolution see Henri Roussin, *William Godwin*, Paris, 1913, Introduction and Première Partie.

³ Harper, *op. cit.*, I, 245. For his projected liberal journal, *The Philanthropist*, the young Wordsworth expected to gain the support of the Dissenters.

Justice when in 1795 he read it at the warm recommendation of Catherine Buck, afterwards Mrs. Clarkson. By his own confession the book shaped his whole life; as in the case of Montague, it cooled his interest in the law, and above all stimulated his sense of social responsibility. With Robinson, as with Place, the adoption of Godwin's ideas did not, however, spell moral ruin as all Godwin's detractors claimed. Forthwith, in the first heat of discipleship, Robinson became Godwin's defender. He himself passes quickly over the matter, but a search of old newspaper files has disclosed the interesting details of the situation.

Benjamin Flower's *Cambridge Intelligencer* was one of the most virulent of the provincial papers with French sympathies; in the opinion of the editors of the *Anti-Jacobin* it was "a mass of loathsome ingredients . . . more false than the *Morning Post*, more blasphemous than the *Morning Chronicle*, and more devoted to the cause of Anarchy and Blood than that exploded vehicle of idiot frenzy, the *Courier*."¹ In Flower's paper, incongruously enough, had appeared a long letter from a perversely ingenious gentleman who had noted the violence of Godwin's attack upon established institutions and the failure of the government to prosecute either him or the bookseller. From these facts this political Shandy argued that a cunning ministry had deliberately commissioned Godwin to write a book which, by its very extravagance, should be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the doctrines that it exalted.² By this reasoning the *Political Justice* became a colossal irony, another *Modest Proposal* in two volumes. To the anonymous writer who had brought this "charge of blackest villainy" Robinson, then only twenty years of age, replied immediately. He deploras that such insinuations impair Godwin's power of social service, exalts his conception of benevolence and its accompanying strictures upon gratitude and promises, praises his reasoning as "perspicuous" and "convincing," and concludes with the rhetorical flourish of the eighteenth century.

I believe no one can rise from the perusal of the *Political Justice*, but his hatred of despotism must be increased, his love of virtue heightened, and his habits of benevolence confirmed, though he may occasionally censure his

¹ *The Anti-Jacobin*, No. 26.

² *Cambridge Intelligencer*, July 18, 1795

daring singularities which strike at the bases of many of our fixed ideas, or smile at systematick absurdities, or romantic speculations.¹

Robinson still continued the eager defender of Godwin as occasion arose. The following year, 1796, at the Royston bookclub before a considerable company of local intellectuals, the young Godwinian won credit by his presentation of his views. But he began to pay the penalty of his radicalism. His activities came to the ear of Robert Hall, one of the most distinguished Dissenting ministers of the time, and when Robinson next visited Bury, he discovered that his friend, Mr. Nash, of Royston, had been advised by Dr. Hall not to receive him. Robinson accepted Hall's challenge, and the ensuing correspondence, which is given in the *Reminiscences*, is an interesting revelation of the panic Godwin had caused among the orthodox. Dr. Hall admitted that as shepherd of a flock he had warned young people against Robinson as "a person who by the possession of the most captivating talents was likely to give circulation and effect to the most dangerous errors." The exchange of letters did not alter the convictions of either writer, but the frankness of each did create a mutual esteem that was lasting. It is not surprising that, his point of view being what it was, Dr. Hall subsequently preached and published two violent sermons against Godwin that had wide circulation and influence—*Modern Infidelity Considered* and *Sentiments Proper to the Present Crisis*.²

This correspondence took place in 1798; in 1800 Crabb Robinson left England for a visit to Germany. His account of his life in the intervening two years is largely a record of closer intimacy with the notorious radicals of his time. These affiliations were the inevitable outgrowth of similar intellectual sympathies; in due time Godwin was listed among his friends. Only with the gradual passage of time did Robinson come to modify his ideas. As he himself remarks, "the French Revolution turned the brains of many of the noblest youths in England. . . . Many were ruined by the errors into which they were betrayed; many also lived to smile at the follies of their youth." Robinson was one of the latter; he came to view the aberrations of his young manhood in a spirit of sagacious tolerance.

¹ *Cambridge Intelligencer*, August 1, 1795.

² Bohn's Library, *The Miscellaneous Works and Remains of the Rev. Robert Hall*, London, 1846.

VI

As the end of the century approached, the hostility to Godwin's ideas grew more bitter and the attacks upon him in novel, in pamphlet, and in sermon became more frequent. Neither tolerance nor intelligence distinguished his more rabid critics; it did not require moral courage to join the pack in full cry after the quarry. With firmness and admirable self-respect Godwin finally took up the challenge in his *Thoughts Occasioned by the Perusal of Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon* (1801) and it must be confessed that many of his critics deserved the contempt with which he referred to them—"the vulgar contumelies of the author of the Pursuits of Literature, novels of buffoonery and scandal to the amount of half a score, and British critics, Anti-Jacobin newspapers, and Anti-Jacobin magazines without number." Yet during this very period the *Political Justice* still possessed power to win disciples and stir the imagination of many of its readers. Moved by curiosity and admiration, they sought Godwin's acquaintance, not unlike Dr. Thomas Campbell, who came all the way from Ireland to see Dr. Johnson, and, having seen him, remarked it was "a thing to talk of a century hence." And at this time and later Godwin, in a rather remarkable fashion, retained his gift of winning the confidence of young men.¹

The evidence, scattered through the pages of Kegan Paul's *William Godwin, his Friends and Contemporaries*, is ample and interesting. Dr. James Bell, a distinguished physician of Edinburgh, about to take up his residence in Jamaica, requested from the publisher, James Ballantyne, a letter of introduction to Godwin; he did not wish to leave England without meeting the man whose writings had made upon him a deep and lasting impression.² When Dr. Christy's brother and sister were in London and showed Lamb every courtesy, he returned the obligation by inviting Godwin to tea to give his friends a much desired opportunity to see the philosopher "face to face."³ Many years later in 1830, Lady Caroline Lamb provided Bulwer Lytton, then a Cambridge student, with a letter which enabled

¹ For Godwin's relations with the actor, Thomas Cooper, see the present writer's article, "William Godwin and the Stage," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXV, 1920, 3.

² Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, I, 351.

Ibid., II, 84

the young enthusiast to meet Godwin; this interest, as has been suggested, accounts for similarities between the work of Godwin and the early novels of Bulwer.¹

In 1798, John Arnot, a clever young Scotchman with evidently substantial social connections, walked to London, and was soon received into Godwin's friendship. Godwin encouraged him to travel, and subsequently Arnot sent Godwin a narrative of his journey so that he might arrange for its publication. But his brother interfered, shocked that the manuscript was tainted with "sentiments which are visionary, and subversive of all social order, and yet (thank God) totally irreducible to practice." Arnot's family, as Mrs. Shelley afterward learned, came to feel very bitterly against Godwin for his influence over their young relative.² Significantly enough, the suppression of Arnot's manuscript at the behest of his family is an analogous instance of what probably took place in the case of Wordsworth. Professor Harper has surmised that the conspicuous scarcity of the poet's letters for the years 1792-93 is to be accounted for by his family's effort to conceal evidence of his revolutionary sympathies.³

Similarly illuminative are Godwin's relations with other youthful admirers. In 1819, a Cambridge student acknowledged his indebtedness to Godwin in these unqualified terms: "When I review my past life, and look for the causes that have operated to mould me into what I am, I always recur to the time I first read *Political Justice* September, 1815."⁴ To the letters that Godwin wrote to such young, impulsive adherents, no exception can be taken; his advice is sympathetic and wise. Finally, when Godwin was an old man, in the seventies, a curious request of an admirer indicates the influence he was still capable of exercising. A Mr. Cooke urges Mrs. Godwin to inform him in case her husband should be taken dangerously ill so that he might hasten to his bedside to aid him if he could, or if the sickness were fatal, to observe how a philosopher would meet death.⁵ Beside such hero-worship as this, Shelley's enthusiasms do not seem immoderate.

¹ Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, II, 302.

² *Ibid.*, I, 313, 342; II, 28.

³ Harper, *op. cit.*, I, 139, 199.

⁴ Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, II, 262.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 323.

Finally, even in our own time Godwin has stirred young radicals to eloquence and to epigram. During the war there fell into my hands a booklet, privately printed and fastidiously bound; its author, a New Yorker of Anglo-Saxon and Russian extraction, is jubilant because Godwin "was never whipped into obedience—obedience, the virtue of dogs and slaves and churchgoers." And at the close, this contemporary individualist records his praise of Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft for their struggle to bring it about "that some day the human race will exist without a government upheld by the bayonet of the soldier and the club of the policeman."¹

B. SPRAGUE ALLEN

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

¹ *William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft*, Victor Robinson, New York.

THE COMMITTEE ON MEDIAEVAL LATIN STUDIES¹

ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAM

This brief sketch has a double function. In the first place, it summarizes the activities and plans of an interdepartmental organization interested in the development of medieval Latin studies. In the second place, by serving as a preface to the accompanying report of a preliminary study of the condition of medieval Latin in the graduate colleges and universities of this country, it emphasizes the important fact that this report is only the result of an initial activity in a comprehensive program.

At the outset a recognition of certain significant facts will assist in any analysis of our problem. This is an age of scientific achievement and intense interest in all things modern. It is an age which tends to belittle its heritage whether classical, Victorian, or medieval. Its appeal for democracy in education becomes, even in the academic world, too often the basis for specious arguments in favor of the commercially marketable or the immediately useful. Its attitude toward disinterested humanistic scholarship is too frequently illustrated by the following incident told me recently by a distinguished medievalist. He had written to a woman of wealth and college training calling attention to the great need at his university for funds to purchase medieval manuscripts. To his letter he received the following laconic response: "Dear Professor Blank: I am not interested in medieval manuscripts; and I don't see why you or any one else should be."

Though the fundamental reason for this attitude is to be sought in the age itself, I do not believe the scholar in the humanities—and especially the medievalist—is entirely free from blame. As a rule, of course, the scholar writes from the seclusion of his study to others in the seclusion of theirs, and in a language familiar primarily to them. The frequent necessity of this I do not question. I believe,

¹ The Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies in its announcements customarily employs the spelling *ae* in Mediaeval. In this report the spelling *e* is used in accordance with the practice of *Modern Philology*.

however, that without prostituting our intellectual ideals we should at fitting times be able to present our material so as to make a wider appeal. Examples are not lacking that Maecenases are still in our midst and ready to be interested in humanistic and philological research as well as in the creative arts. And I believe that one of our first moves toward awakening an interest is a recognition through a definite organization and program of the importance of medieval Latin in relation to the classic past, to its own period, and to our own age.

I pause here to quote certain important statements concerning the place and significance of medieval Latin made at a symposium in connection with the Pacific Coast Philological Association in 1922:

Medieval Latin literature is no more a debased and corrupt copy of classical Latin literature than medieval Latin is of the language of Cicero and Caesar. . . . The value of this literature as compared with Greek or Latin or any given modern literature will be variously estimated. The important thing in connection with it is that it was independent and specially adapted to the society whose life it illustrated. . . . Till about the eleventh century the literature of Western Europe was almost exclusively in Latin. Without a reading knowledge of Latin and some acquaintance with medieval Latin literature, no one can do thorough work in linguistics, in prosody, in modern literatures, in history, or in philosophy.

Again:

The importance of a first-hand knowledge of medieval Latin literature to the student of modern literature may be most readily understood through observing the fact that various important kinds of intellectual activities of the Middle Ages were directly continued into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and thence into later times.

And finally:

The study of medieval Latin has suffered in America through being nobody's business in particular. There is still a widespread feeling that the language and literature are so inferior as to be negligible. . . . Many have retained the sentimental and distorted idea of the medieval mind which began in the eighteenth century; and the important middle division of man's intellectual history is still obscured by paradox and misunderstanding as well as by ignorance.

A survey of the records of the American Philological Association and the American Historical Association reveals that the indictment of the attitude in America is entirely justified. And

it is only too pertinent as applied to the Modern Language Association. Until 1920 the importance of medieval Latin was recognized officially only once. In December, 1908, Professor Warren, then President of the Modern Language Association, delivered as his presidential address "A Plea for the Study of Medieval Latin." This was not a comprehensive survey of the field, nor a summary of the problems. It did not attempt to suggest a plan of organization nor to present an outline of possibilities. One thing it did do, and do well. Through calling attention to some of the medieval Latin documents of a limited district and period, it showed how rich a field there is in medieval Latin for the student of medieval life.

The new era for medieval Latin begins with December, 1920. At that time Professor Manly, in an epoch-marking address as president of the Modern Language Association, outlined a program "for reorganization of the meetings with a view to greater specialization and greater stimulation of research and for working out through carefully chosen committees of plans for important investigations and for methods of aiding individual investigators." As a result of this recommendation, one of the groups organized during 1921 chose as its subject "The Influence of Latin Culture on Medieval Literature."

At the meeting held in Baltimore in December, 1921, this was constituted as a permanent group. During the spring of 1922, the organization of the committee was completed and a comprehensive program was initiated. From the beginning two elements were kept in mind in the organization: that it must be national instead of sectional in character; and that it must enlist the services of the best Latin medievalists from whatever department of study or from whatever learned association. In the first place, then, the country was divided geographically with Professors Gerould, Tatlock, and Coffman as chairmen for the East, the Pacific Coast, and the Middle West, respectively. Professor Rand, of the American Philological Association, accepted the general or advisory chairmanship. As a result of this organization, in December, 1922, at meetings of the American Philological Association, the Modern Language Association, and the Pacific Coast Philological Association a uniform program was presented.

After the meetings in December, 1922, it became evident that the interest had grown far beyond the organization with which it was then affiliated and that some kind of reorganization which would give the Latin medievalists from classics, history, and philosophy a place of equality with those from modern languages was necessary. Two possibilities for such reorganization were considered by the committee: the formation of an independent organization to be known as a society or academy for medieval Latin studies; or affiliation with some organization already in existence. At first the committee favored the former of these possibilities. But after correspondence and conference with Dean Haskins, chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies, the chairman and the secretary, with the approval of the other members, completed arrangements for the appointment as a standing committee of the American Council of Learned Societies of a committee on medieval Latin studies. In this decision there were at least four determining factors.

1. It avoids the necessity for the present of a new society at a time when, to use the words of Dean Haskins, "the organization of a new society carries a heavy burden of proof because of the number of existing societies."

2. It gives the committee the advantage of the Council's secretariat and of some of its funds for printing or mimeographing and distributing bulletins.

3. It puts all the organizations interested in medieval Latin on an equal basis in the committee and insures official recognition of this work by the learned societies, individually and collectively.

4. It insures a uniform program and concerted action in whatever agenda the committee may decide upon. In a word, the leaven remains in the individual organizations, but the committee constitutes a kind of matrix which gives cosmic life and unity to the body of medieval Latin as a whole.

In connection with 4, it is anticipated that the organizations interested will continue to have at their meetings special sections devoted to papers and discussions in the field of medieval Latin. The most comprehensive of such meetings, held in December, 1923, was the one at Princeton, under the chairmanship of Professor

Ullman, in connection with the American Philological Association. The following is the committee which Dean Haskins, chairman of the American Council, has appointed: Professor E. K. Rand (Classics), chairman, Professor C. H. Beeson (Classics), Professor J. S. P. Tatlock (Modern Languages), Professor G. H. Gerould (Modern Languages), Professor J. W. Thompson (History), Professor L. J. Paetow (History), Professor J. F. Willard (History), Professor M. de Wulf (Philosophy), Professor G. R. Coffman (Modern Languages), executive secretary.

Through the encouragement, initiative, or co-operation of this group the following concrete results have up to the present been attained:

1. The accompanying report on Medieval Latin in graduate colleges and universities represents an activity of the original committee of the Modern Language Association. It is based on the assumption that in order to unify and develop the work in Medieval Latin studies it is necessary first to know as much as possible of present conditions.

2. Professor Beeson has now nearly completed for publication a medieval Latin anthology for those who wish to begin or continue their studies in this field. This will include carefully graded specimens of medieval Latin from Cassiodorus to the time of Roger Bacon.

3. As a result of urgent requests Professor Paetow is writing a book entitled *The Revival of Interest in Mediaeval Latin* with the following tentative table of contents: chapter i, "Latin in the Middle Ages"; chapter ii, "The Humanists and Mediaeval Latin"; chapter iii, "Mediaeval Latin in Modern Times"; chapter iv, "Latin as an International Auxiliary Language"; chapter v, "The Revival of Interest in Mediaeval Latin in the Twentieth Century." Each chapter will include a critical bibliography.

4. In connection with the American Council of Learned Societies, the committee has interested itself in the international project for a new medieval Latin dictionary. Professor Beeson, chairman of a committee for this project and American representative on the international committee, attended the International Union of Academies in Brussels in April, 1922. The International Union of Academies is

now committed to a Latin lexicon to come down to about the year 1000. The organization is completed, the work is distributed, and Paris is to be the center with Professor Goelzer of the Sorbonne as director.

5. Through Professor Gerould, in co-operation with the American Library Association, the committee is initiating a plan for co-operative buying of medieval Latin materials so as to avoid unnecessary duplication. Professor Gerould has in mind also a bibliography of medieval Latin materials in the libraries of this country.

6. At the meeting of the British and American Professors of English at Columbia University last June the active co-operation of the English scholars was enlisted. Dr. G. G. Coulton, of St. John's College, Cambridge University, agreed to sponsor the project in England. In the *Literary Supplement of the London Times* for November 1, 1923, appears a letter by him outlining the plans of the committee and requesting the names of those interested. Previous to this the Modern Humanities Research Association had published in 1922 an announcement concerning the plans of the Committee on Mediaeval Latin of the Modern Language Association of America.

7. The committee is considering ways and means of publishing a journal devoted to medieval Latin studies. This publication would contain reports, special studies, reviews, and comprehensive bibliographies. The editorial board could well consider also a project for publishing in uniform edition translations of medieval Latin classics. In any case it is hoped to arrange for publishing an annual bibliography of studies in the field of medieval Latin.

8. In November, 1923, the secretary prepared and mailed to almost four hundred scholars interested in some aspect of medieval Latin studies a bulletin concerning the work of the committee.¹

The larger aspects of our program are admirably summarized by Professor Tatlock as follows:

The ultimate objective held in view by the Committee on Medieval Latin Studies is an understanding of the Latin records of the Middle Ages and their significance in human history. This involves: (1) Lists of documents. (2) Publication or other reproduction of documents. (3) Diction-

¹ Any person not having received a copy and desiring one may secure it until the supply is exhausted by writing to the secretary, 76 Oxford Street, Cambridge, Mass.

aries and other linguistic helps. (4) Surveys and monographs dealing with the whole field or with parts of it from various points of view. (5) The study of the relations of medieval Latin to its classical background, to medieval vernacular literature, to medieval life and thought in general, and to modern literature and thought.

GEORGE R. COFFMAN

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL LATIN IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

The following summary embodies the answers to a questionnaire sent last winter to upwards of forty institutions of advanced learning in the United States, and the results of some further correspondence and use of their publications to check or complete the answers. Partial or complete replies were received from persons in thirty-seven colleges or universities, fifteen in the East, seventeen in the Mid-West, and five in the Pacific region. The institutions replying are: (Eastern) Brown, Bryn Mawr, the Catholic University of America, Columbia, Cornell, George Washington, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, New York University, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Smith, Vassar, Yale; (Mid-Western) Chicago, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, Northwestern, Ohio State, Tennessee, Texas, Washington University (St. Louis), Western Reserve, Wisconsin; (Pacific region) California, Southern California, Stanford, Utah, Washington. We repeat that we have depended largely on the answers of local men, but have made every effort to get the latest and fullest information.

Thirteen institutions seem to offer no courses devoted exclusively to medieval Latin literature, language, or intellectual culture. These are Brown, George Washington, Michigan, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Smith, Southern California, Tennessee, Texas, Western Reserve.

Courses in colloquial or vulgar Latin are offered at Chicago, Cornell, Harvard, Iowa, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Yale, and occasionally at the Catholic University, Johns Hopkins, and Utah; in patristic or church Latin language and literature at California, the Catholic University, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Stanford, Wisconsin; in historical Latin at Chicago, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, New York, Princeton, University of Washington, Wisconsin. This is an inadequate summary of many courses, and in some cases large opportunities. In several of the more important institutions historical seminars have been given for many years in which charters, chronicles, and other historical documents are read. Courses in later medieval Latin paleography are offered at Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Princeton, Washington

University (St. Louis), Wisconsin, and Yale. Elsewhere it is touched on, and there are courses in earlier paleography. Most of the courses referred to above meet merely one or two hours a week during one term; at Columbia, Harvard, and Pennsylvania alone, apparently, is a complete year's work devoted to a course primarily on medieval Latin. Most of the courses are taken by very few students, and many are given only now and then. It is probable, therefore, that there is much less study of medieval Latin in the universities in general than the lists given above at first suggest. California, Stanford, Utah, and Vassar express a desire to offer new or more extensive reading courses in medieval Latin as soon as a suitable textbook is available. Chicago, Columbia, and perhaps Bryn Mawr also indicate that they would use such a book, and probably other institutions would do so. It is quite clear that of all single services to medieval Latin studies the publication of a good reading-book is the greatest possible.

Less numerous are courses on the history of medieval thought and intellectual culture. Courses devoted to medieval philosophy, or some aspect of it, are offered at the Catholic University, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Pennsylvania (three courses), and Wisconsin. In these courses it is uncertain how much Latin reading by the students is involved. Other noteworthy specialized courses are: at the Catholic University, *Medieval Preaching*; at Chicago, *Medieval Drama* (J. M. Manly); at Harvard, *History of Pastoral Literature* (E. K. Rand); at Pennsylvania, *Anglo-Latin Literature* (J. C. Mendenhall), *Medieval Drama* (A. C. Baugh, J. B. Beck); at Western Reserve, *Methods of Historical Research*, especially for intellectual history and the medieval period (Lynn Thorndike); at Yale, *Anglo-Latin Poetry from the Twelfth Century to the Age of Pope* (Tucker Brooke), *Medieval Latin Drama* (Karl Young). Noteworthy general courses largely or wholly on medieval Latin culture are: at California, *Medieval Culture* (L. J. Paetow); at Harvard, *History of Classical Culture in the Middle Ages* (E. K. Rand), *Intellectual History of Europe, 500-1500* (C. H. Haskins); at Illinois, *The Religious, Economic, and Intellectual Development of Medieval Society* (L. M. Larson); at Northwestern, *Intellectual Development of the Middle Ages* (Ernest Lauer). Many or most of the courses in this last group, and most of those in the preceding, probably involve Latin reading by the students. It must be observed that no attempt seems to be made anywhere at a general survey of medieval Latin literature.

Other general or special courses of advanced character on medieval civilization involve Latin at least in their background, perhaps more than this, and in turn afford background for study of medieval Latin. Such courses, besides those already mentioned, are offered at Colorado, Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Princeton (*Medieval Civilization*, D. C. Munro), Vassar, Wisconsin (*Medieval Civilization*, G. C. Sellery).

We have summarized or listed the courses in which medieval Latin is largely read, or in which medieval Latin culture is studied. Besides these, almost all of the thirty-seven institutions replying to the questionnaire offer courses in which medieval Latin is used incidentally, in connection with courses in history, Romance philology, English, divinity, philosophy, law, or fine arts, but do not indicate even approximately to what extent the actual reading of medieval Latin documents is indispensable for such courses. Aside from the courses mentioned in the three preceding paragraphs, probably in most cases no such reading is done by the students, and little by the professors in connection with these courses; in linguistic courses Latin words are studied, and in others secondary sources based on medieval Latin documents. Of course much medieval Latin literature in the largest sense has filtered through into the general reservoir of common knowledge.

It is of no small practical interest to observe what departments take most active part in these courses. According to the questionnaire, Latin departments distinctly take the lead, with history second, in some institutions the two departments dividing the honors between them, Latin being at the top in some twelve institutions, with courses in the language and the literature in a more restricted sense, and history in about eight, with courses on historical literature or in general intellectual history. If we consider the amount of Latin read, and the amount of original work done, dissertations and the like, the positions might be reversed. The English department takes the lead only at Yale. Philosophy is prominent in Pennsylvania, and law in California. No other department figures prominently in giving courses.

The questionnaire disclosed a large number of men, one and often several in each institution, who express particular interest in these studies. The neglect of medieval Latin studies is not due in the country as a whole to a want of qualified and zealous medievalists, of whom some would be glad to offer more work than at present. Very distinguished research in the field has been and is being done by men who offer no regular courses in it; the late Professor J. D. Bruce, of Tennessee, is a case in point, not to mention the living. Several institutions offer rich opportunities for research with highly qualified men. In regard to such opportunities, and to courses, Harvard clearly leads, with Chicago, Columbia, and Pennsylvania perhaps next. A considerable amount of research is actually in progress, books and articles by professors and dissertations by students. Of the works specified, several times as many are on literary as on historical subjects, though some of the latter may have been overlooked by our correspondents. With some eminent exceptions, historians use medieval Latin literature mainly as sources, and contribute to fresh knowledge of it less than language men do. It is still more noteworthy that nearly all the language professors and graduate students who are reported in our sources of information as doing research in the field are in modern, not in ancient, language departments. Yet we have seen that

far more courses in medieval Latin are given by ancient than by modern language departments. It seems clear, therefore, that the classical men for the most part are interested in the subject as a side issue, as ancillary and contributory to the promotion of Latin studies in general, while a far larger number of modern-language men seem to feel that fresh interest in the subject for its own sake which is fertile in original writing. The brilliant contributions made by some of the classicists, and the distinguished qualifications of many of them, make us regret that the work has been so largely left to men less well equipped.

Complete and well-proportioned information on this whole subject has been difficult to obtain, still more to present. This is partly because the subject ramifies into many departments of study without having any academic nucleus, and, therefore, in few institutions can any one man easily answer for it as a whole. Whether departments of philology or history are the right hand of medieval Latin studies we are not prepared to say, but the evangelical injunction seems to be laudably observed, not to let your right hand know what your left hand does. In particular, we have not felt justified in evaluating to any great extent the courses or opportunities in the several institutions; in some doubtless these are as great as anywhere in the world, but our business has not been primarily with the few, but to survey conditions in the country as a whole. We felt it ungracious to belittle by comparisons the efforts of institutions which are doing the best they can. If at any point we have seemed to anyone to say too little, or to overlook something, we beg our readers to believe that this is due either to failure to get information in spite of much effort, or to the purpose of this report. Our primary concern has been with the study of the medieval Latin language itself, and of medieval intellectual life, rather than of mere records, as expressed in it.

Considering the history of American universities, it is not surprising that these subjects are not more studied. The American college curriculum goes back to a time when everyone went through much the same limited and consecrated round of studies, and when the Middle Ages were little regarded, except perhaps as a source for superficial romantic thrills, the current for which hardly flows in Latin. There was prejudice against the religious and philosophical writing in Latin as either dead or living only in an unpopular religious system, against the other literature as lacking value or as a mere copy of classic Latin, and against the language as supposedly debased. Some of this prejudice was not wholly unjustifiable, since classical literature does seem to many to uphold an ideal and to be expressed in a style more stimulating and more needed today than the medieval, but the prejudice was encouraged because it made the acquisition of a new body of knowledge seem needless. Therefore the language, literature, and philosophy of the Middle Ages were ignored, though those of the ancients and more or less the moderns formed the bulk of the college course. Much of this prejudice still survives,

even in the face of the historical spirit which wishes to understand the past before undertaking to judge it. It is among the historians in the restricted sense that the study of medieval Latin in America began, with the study of historical documents in Latin rather than of intellectual history and the classical tradition. But soon after the growth of the historical spirit and its fresh zeal of research, appeared new enemies. In most institutions the curriculum in arts aims less than formerly at liberal culture for its own sake, and more at preparation for teaching, and teaching of medieval Latin is not in demand. Further, few students come equipped with an adequate knowledge of classical Latin, and none too many are interested enough in the history of the distant past to be willing to do hard work on it. Considering all this, the showing of American universities today is not discreditable. But in the country as a whole it is due mainly to the enterprise of a man or two here and there, to the *Lehrfreiheit* in our graduate schools. Few if any institutions seem to feel responsibility for adequately treating the central language and literature (in the wide sense) of the Middle Ages. The fact that other "unpractical" studies are provided for, and the vast expansion of the field of knowledge, make the neglect of this region the more striking. Scholars and even ordinary men know the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans; they know modern times; they know medieval vernacular literature—the very hairs of Beowulf's head are all numbered. But the main current that joins the ancients to the moderns they do not know. This is the only body of literature in our own line of intellectual descent, or related to our civilization, that remains obscure; if the "Dark Ages" remain dark, it is our fault, not theirs. We lack texts, translations, bibliographies, monographs, histories, and dictionaries. Indeed, how many people know yet just how far and just wherein medieval Latin literature is important? Two things are clear. Medieval literary history has been written mostly with a vernacular, Germanic, oral-traditional, folk-lore point of view and background, and few attempts have been made on a large scale to integrate it with classical and medieval Latin. Furthermore, when it is so integrated it will have to be written over again.

For further developing these studies, the methods to be employed within the universities seem fairly obvious (to say nothing here of outside activities). Best of all is the presence of men of wide knowledge and interest in the subject, who will bring up followers in such ways as seem good to them. Few institutions can have several such; indeed, some will hardly think best to develop these studies at all. But elsewhere something can be done. It is difficult to see that any one department can be held primarily responsible; indeed, the neglect of the subject is due to the fact that it is nobody's business in particular. A priori, it would be natural that Latin departments should give courses of study in the language, philosophy in the thought, modern languages in some parts of the literature, and history in others. It is on these

departments, if on any, that the main responsibility rests. Some institutions which wish to promote the study would possibly do well to make up a committee or perhaps offer a co-operative course from these departments, with the addition, perhaps, of men in other departments (historians of science, law, politics, or the like) who may chance to be concerned with it, a sort of co-operation which would have many advantages, one of them being acquaintance with each other's work and interests. But perfunctory recognition of departments is much less important than the co-operation of men with an active personal interest in the subject. No formalities should hamper spontaneous activity. Any qualified man in any department would do well to give any useful course in the language or the literature. But the most fundamental one seems to be a reading course, preferably using a volume of characteristic passages from representative writers. It is true that a student with a good knowledge of classical Latin can read the later language without much introduction to its peculiarities; but many students of history and modern languages notoriously lack such knowledge, and both classes of students will profit from such a close contact with the literature. The second obvious course will give an account (usually in lectures) of the intellectual or literary history of the Middle Ages as recorded in Latin, touching on its relations to classical, early Christian, Arabic, medieval vernacular, and modern literature and thought. This should appeal to students of history, philosophy, ancient and modern literature, and even of other subjects. Various simpler modifications of such a survey course are possible; for instance, one on the writers most influential on medieval and early modern times, such as Dionysius Cato, Macrobius, Augustine, Orosius, Jerome, Boethius, Gregory, Isidor, Petrus Comestor, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Guido delle Colonne, Vincent of Beauvais, Jacobus de Voragine (to mention a few examples, though not as a program). To spread knowledge of the subject, a fluent reading knowledge of Latin we might even dispense with. Progress will be slow if we receive nobody but specialists. Some of the reading for such courses, possibly the necessary minimum, is available in translation, but many more translations are needed, indeed are one of the greatest needs; though much the same purpose would be served by texts with a running summary in English. The resources of some libraries would need to be surveyed and supplemented by the aid of a well-selected and moderate-sized bibliography, which is also much needed. In any highly developed graduateschool these two courses or the like might well be regarded as the minimum, and at least the full time of one man, or the equivalent, seems necessary to do justice to these and other possible courses, to research students and to private research in a field where *Hilfsmittel* do not abound. This does not mean, of course, that other men would not also give work involving the use of medieval Latin. Visits and lectures from distinguished American and foreign medieval Latinists would also be a great stimulus. Further,

teachers of medieval history and vernacular literatures (especially of Middle English) might well do more than they do to keep their students conscious of the central position of Latin, and of the relation of the vernacular literatures to it. In other words, for all workers in the past, medieval Latin should cease to be largely an unexplored and desert hinterland. To this end we need a sketch or monograph on the medieval Latin background of Middle English, and the other vernacular literatures. More candidates for the doctorate in modern languages might be encouraged not only to select research subjects dealing with the relations of the vernacular literatures to medieval Latin, but also now and then subjects dealing with medieval Latin itself. Classical students would find that needed and valuable studies of the influence of ancient writers on medieval are well adapted to their needs. The sense of contributing to the knowledge of an important and neglected field is a stimulus in itself, but unfortunately the usefulness of a study is not always considered as much as its supposed adaptation to the student or its later market value. Scholarly organizations among graduate students, philological societies, modern language or classical or history clubs and the like, might well aim to devote a meeting now and then to the subject, to accounts of research or appreciative descriptions of certain writers or bodies of literature; there is assuredly no lack of grand, picturesque, human, and even racy matter in medieval Latin.

Graduate schools may be looked at in two ways; practically, as training schools for a profession, ideally, as devoted to the advancement of learning. Medieval Latin studies depend on the second with due practical heed to the first. Without plenty of such disinterested zeal as will express itself in such studies as these, no graduate school can very well accomplish its practical function.

TUCKER BROOKE

Yale University

TOM PEETE CROSS

University of Chicago

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK, *Chairman*

Leland Stanford University

THE READING OF SOUTHEY AND COLERIDGE: THE RECORD OF THEIR BORROWINGS FROM THE BRISTOL LIBRARY, 1793-98

Through the recovery of the original records of the books borrowed from the Bristol Library¹ we are now enabled to follow month by month and even at times day by day the reading of Southey and Coleridge during their critical formative years, 1793-98. Although exhibiting, of course, only a comparatively small proportion of their entire reading during this memorable period, the list which follows reconstructs a part of the picture of the spiritual development of the poets. I attempt no interpretation of the influence of these volumes in the contemporary and subsequent work of Southey and Coleridge, but I present the complete record as a body of source material.

BOOKS BORROWED BY SOUTHEY

1793

Oct. 22-25	Enfield's <i>History of Philosophy</i> , Vol. I ²
Oct. 25-Nov. 13	Enfield's <i>History of Philosophy</i> , Vol. II
Oct. 28-Nov. 4	Gillies' <i>History of Greece</i> , Vol. II
Nov. 4-18	Smith's <i>Wealth of Nations</i> , Vol. I

¹ The discovery of the registers, which had lain neglected for nearly a century, was announced in *The Bristol Times and Mirror* for April 11, 1889, by E. R. Norris Mathews, Librarian of the Bristol Museum and Library, as follows: "While searching recently for some missing volumes in the upper story of the Museum and Library, I was attracted by a heap of books of small folio size, all bound alike, in old 'rough calf.'" A summary of the reading of Southey and Coleridge by James Baker appeared under the title, "Books Read by Coleridge and Southey," in *Chamber's Journal* for February 1, 1890, pp. 75-76, reprinted in *Literary and Biographical Studies*, 1908, pp. 211-18, but this list makes no pretensions to completeness and the inaccuracies therein are deplorable.

The registers which I consulted in compiling the catalogue below are eight in number. Among the prominent names of borrowers are those of Dr. John Beddoe, Dr. Thomas Beddoes, Joseph Cottle, Sir Humphrey Davy, Lander, Robert Lovell, Richard Lovell Edgeworth (father of Maria), and John Hallam, Dean of Bristol, the father of Henry Hallam, the historian. The borrower often signed his own name against the volume drawn, so that we have many signatures of Southey and Coleridge. Lander's signature, executed October 25, 1836, when he first wrote his name as required of new subscribers, is most characteristic, with its angry splutter of heavy drops of ink (unblotted!) over the "d."

For permission to examine the registers and to publish material therefrom I am indebted to the City Librarian, L. Aclan Taylor, Esq. I wish to express also my obligation to Miss Winifred Parry of the library staff, who aided me untiringly in every way.

² The dates show when the volume was borrowed and returned. Titles are given verbatim, parts supplied being inclosed in brackets and supplementary notes in parentheses.

- Nov. 18-25 Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II
 Nov. 25-28 Godwin *On Political Justice*, Vol. I
 Nov. 26-28 Robertson's *Topographical Survey*, Vol. I
 Nov. 29-Dec. 2 Gilpin's *Forest Scenery*, Vol. I
 Dec. 2-9 Gilpin's *Observations on the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland, etc.*, Vol. I
 Dec. 9-18 Godwin *On Political Justice*, Vol. II
 Dec. 18-20 Wollstonecraft's *Rights of Woman*
 Dec. 20-23 Headley's *Ancient English Poetry*, Vol. I
 Dec. 23-27 Cowper's *Homer*, Vol. I
 Dec. 27-30 Cowper's *Homer*, Vol. II, *Odyssey, etc.*
 Dec. 30-Jan. 13, 1794 Gilpin's *Forest Scenery*, Vol. II
 1794
 Jan. 14-27 Polwhele's *Theocritus*
 Jan. 29-Feb. 10 Gillies' *History of Greece*, Vol. II
 Feb. 10-March 26 Hooke's *Roman History*, Vol. I
 Mar. 26-31 Mitford's *History of Greece*, Vol. I
 Mar. 31-Apr. 30 Gillies' *History of Greece*, Vol. II
 Apr. 30-May 7 Gast's *History of Greece*
 July 8-Aug. 7 Hartley *On Man*, Vol. I
 Aug. 7-22 Hartley *On Man*, Vol. II
 Aug. 22-Sept. 1 Coxe's *Travels into Poland, etc.*, Vol. I
 Sept. 1-5 Coxe's *Travels*, Vol. II
 Sept. 5-10 Cartwright's *Journal*, Vol. I
 Sept. 10-16 Cartwright's *Journal*, Vol. II
 Sept. 16-18 Cartwright's *Journal*, Vol. III
 Sept. 18-22 Clavigero's *History of Mexico*, Vol. II
 Sept. 22-23 Clavigero's *History of Mexico*, Vol. II
 Sept. 23-25 Helvetius' *Child of Nature*
 Sept. 25-26 Boyd's *Dante*, Vol. I
 Sept. 26-Oct. 24 Boyd's *Dante*, Vol. II
 Oct. 3-29 Lillo's *Works*, Vol. II
 Nov. 3-Jan. 26, 1795 Holinshed's *Chronicle*
 1795
 Jan. 1-21 Williams' *Observation on the Discovery of America*
 Jan. 28-Feb. 26 Carte's *History of England*, Vol. IV
 Mar. 5-23 Mitford's *History of Greece*, Vol. I
 Mar. 23-27 Ferguson's *Roman Republic*
 Mar. 27-Apr. 14 Priestley's *Corruption of Man*, Vol. I
 Apr. 6-9 Burns's *Poems*
 Apr. 13-May 18 *History of Paraguay*
 Apr. 16-20 Raynall's *European Settlements*, Vol. V
 Apr. 20-27 Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, Vol. II (Vol. I entered to Coleridge same date)

May 4–June 1	Fuller's <i>Worthies</i>
May 18–June 1	Maclaurin's <i>Newton</i>
June 1–11	Michaelis, Vol. II
July 13–16	<i>Edda Saemundina</i>
Aug. 10–Oct. 14	D'Herbelot's <i>Bibliothèque Orientale</i>
Oct. 14–Nov. 12	<i>Edda Saemundina</i>

BOOKS BORROWED BY COLERIDGE

1795	
Mar. 2–20	<i>Poetical Tracts</i> , Vol. III
Mar. 13–20	Mosheim [<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>], Vol. III
Mar. 19–29	Gast's <i>History of Greece</i>
Mar. 23–Apr. 6	[Edward] Young's <i>Works</i> , Vol. V
Mar. 27–Apr. 6	Enfield's <i>History of Philosophy</i> , Vol. I
Mar. 27–Apr. 14	Priestley's <i>Corruption [of Man]</i> , Vol. I (signing Southey's name for this)
Apr. 6–14	Robertson's <i>Charles 5</i> , Vol. I (signing Southey's name)
Apr. 20–27	Burnet's <i>History of His Own Time</i> , Vol. I
Apr. 27–May 12	<i>History of George the Third</i> , Vol. II
Apr. 27–May 12	<i>History of George the Third</i> , Vol. III (signing Southey's name)
May 15–June 6	Cudworth's <i>Intellectual System</i>
May 18–June 11	Balguy [<i>Divine Benevolence Asserted</i>] and Sturges [<i>On the Present State of Church Establishment</i>]
June 1–11	Michaelis, Vol. I
June 1–11	Paley's <i>Evidences</i> , Vol. I
June 15–25	Clarkson <i>On the Slave Trade</i>
June 15–25	Wedstrom <i>On Colonization</i> (signing Southey's name after scratching out his own)
July 14–Aug. 7	Edwards' <i>West Indies</i> , Vol. II
July 21–Sept. 21	Rowley's <i>Poems</i> . Cambridge edition
Oct. 19–19 (I)	<i>Carmina Quadragesimalia</i> , Vol. II
Nov. 4–9	<i>Apuleia Opera</i> , Vol. V (Coleridge adds the note: "9 Dutch ships taken, with 3000 troops Bravo.")
Nov. 25–Dec. 23	Burgh's <i>Political Disquisitions</i> , Vols. I and II (Vol. III signed for in Cottle's name)
Dec. 23–23 (I)	<i>Essay on Material World</i>
Dec. 24–Jan. 6, 1796	Akenside's <i>Poems</i>
Dec. 30–Jan. 28, 1796	<i>Poetical Tracts</i> , Vol. III
1796	
Jan. 6–Feb. 24	Ossian's <i>Poems</i> , Vols. I and II
Feb. 26–Mar. 10	<i>Annual Register</i> for 1782–83
Mar. 10–28	Berkeley's <i>Works</i> , Vol. II
Mar. 28–Apr. 25	<i>Anthologia Hibernica</i>

Apr. 25-May 6	<i>Harleian Miscellany</i> , Vol. VI
May 6-June 6	<i>Observer</i> , Vols. I and V
June 6-29	<i>Essay on Existence and Nature of an External World</i>
June 23-July 4	Boyd's <i>Dante</i> , Vols. I and II
July 4-Aug. 31	<i>Veterum Persarum Religio</i>
July 13-Aug. 31	<i>D[avid] Williams on Education</i>
Sept. 2-16	Ramsay's <i>Philosophical Principles</i> , Vols. I and II
Sept. 22-Oct. 12	Taylor's <i>Sermons</i>
Sept. 27-28	<i>Critical Rev.</i> , May 1796
Oct. 12-14	Ramsay's <i>Philosophical Principles</i> , Vol. III
Oct. 25-Nov. 9	Foster <i>On Accent and Quantity</i>
Nov. 9-Dec. 13	Cudworth's <i>Intellectual System</i>
Nov. 25-30	Monstrelet [Chroniques de France, etc.], Vols. I and II
Dec. 13-Mar. 9, 1797	Foster <i>On Accent and Quantity</i>
1797	
Mar. 23-May 11	Brucker's <i>Historia Critica Philosophiae</i>
Aug. 18-28	Massinger's <i>Works</i> , Vols. I and II
Aug. 25-Oct. 13	Nash's <i>Worcestershire</i> , Vols. I and II
Oct. 25-Nov. 9	Burney's <i>History of Music</i> , Vol. II
Dec. 1-15	Benyowsky's <i>Mem[oirs]</i>
Dec. 11-Jan. 24, 1798	<i>Saemunda Edda</i>
Dec. 13-14	Rosseau (<i>sic</i>), Vol. VII (containing 1750 Dijon prize discourse)
1798	
Jan. 8-15	Middleton's <i>Life of Cicero</i> , Vol. I
Jan. 29-Feb. 26	Blair's <i>Lectures</i> , Vol. II
Apr. 20-May 22	<i>Manchester Memoirs</i> , Vol. II
Apr. 23-May 22	<i>Philosophical Transactions</i> , Vol. LXXV
May 25-June 1	<i>Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts</i> , Vols. X and XI
May 31-July 13	Benyowsky's <i>Memoirs</i> , Vols. I and II
June 8-14	Massinger's <i>Dramatic Works</i> , Vols. III and IV

PAUL KAUFMAN

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

La Passion du Palatinus, Mystère du XIV^e Siècle. Edité par GRACE FRANK. "Les Classiques français du Moyen Age," publiés sous la direction de Mario Roques. No. 30. Paris: Champion, 1922. Pp. xiv+101.

With the publication of Dr. Karl Christ's edition of the recently discovered Palatine *Passion*,¹ and of Mrs. Grace Frank's preliminary studies² and subsequent edition, the important questions of date, source, and interrelation of the Passion plays in France have received new material for a completer explanation.

The discovery of the Palatine manuscript by Dr. Christ³ brought the assurance of the existence at least as early as the first half of the fourteenth century of a true Passion in which Christ's sufferings and death are fully portrayed. Both editors, while realizing the possibility of a mixture of dialectic forms, agree in localizing the language as being in its general characteristics that of the southeastern French territory. Dr. Christ is inclined further to specify western Burgundy as the place of origin. Arguing from the lack of material in the whole field of the biblical drama, the existence of early plays in German and Provençal, the height of development to which the fourteenth-century Passions have attained, internal evidence in the Palatine *Passion* (moderate length, few characters, simplicity of action, prosaic diction), and from the results of metrical and linguistic examination, Dr. Christ would give to the manuscript and to the *Passion* a date in the first decades of the fourteenth century. Mrs. Frank⁴ has added to Dr. Christ's hypotheses, from a knowledge of sources inaccessible to him and from a more objective study of the versification and linguistic peculiarities, the statement that in the Palatine *Passion* three strata may be observed: the first corresponding to the thirteenth-century *Passion des Jongleurs*,⁵ the second to the Autun *Passion* or its original,⁶ the third being that of the later

¹ "Das altfranzösische Passionsspiel der Palatina," *Zeits. f. Rom. Phil.*, XL (1920), 405-88.

² "Vernacular Sources and an Old French Passion Play," *MLN* Notes, XXXV (1920), 257-69. "The Palatine Passion and the Development of the Passion Play," *PMLA*, XXXV (1920), 464-83. "Critical Notes on the Palatine Passion," *MLN*, XXXVI (1921), 193-204.

³ *Die altfranzösischen Handschriften der Palatina*, Leipzig, 1916 [=Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 46].

⁴ *MLN*, 1921, loc. cit.

⁵ For editions, see below. Cf. E. Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle*, pp. 27*ff. (Dijon and Paris, 1903).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40*ff.

redaction of the play and only slightly earlier than the manuscript itself. Thus she places the archaic original of the present Palatine *Passion* in the thirteenth century and considers that Jeanroy's conjecture¹ that dramatic representations of the *Passion* in French took place before the fourteenth century has been confirmed, as has also his hypothesis that an archaic *Passion* play would lack the grotesque, humorous, and gruesome elements. Arguments on such grounds are usually open to criticism unless other arguments concur in evidence. In this case opportunity of testing their stability is given by the sources and interrelations of the Palatine *Passion* and the other *Passion* plays.

Before 1920, knowledge of the latter had been restricted by the limited material. Roy had called attention to the importance of the narrative *Passion des Jongleurs* for the works in dramatic form, as well as to the similarities between the Autun *Passion* and the Sion fragment,² and between the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion*³ and the Semur *Passion*.⁴ Jeanroy,⁵ while accepting Roy's theories only in part, showed additional resemblances between the Autun *Passion* and the Semur *Passion* which he characterized as borrowings of the latter. He in his turn was combatted by Creizenach,⁶ who would attribute the phenomena of resemblance to chance and the similarity of material. Hence the question whether these points of contact were due to direct copying, to mutual and intricate borrowings, or whether they were purely fortuitous, was still undecided.

Dr. Christ asserted the influence of the narrative *Passion* upon the Palatine *Passion* on the basis of Roy's analysis, the shortened form in the *Roman de St. Fanuel*,⁷ and the prose version of Jean d'Outremeuse.⁸ He did not realize the existence of the edition of Theben and Pfuhl,⁹ and that of Miss Foster,¹⁰ of which he learned while going to press, was inaccessible to him. He had to content himself with comparing the Palatine *Passion*, in its general outlines only, with the version of Jean d'Outremeuse, a proceeding which is manifestly unsatisfactory and can lead to no exact statement. He accepted Roy's belief as to the common ancestry of the Sion fragment and

¹ "Le Mystère de la Passion en France," *Journal des Savants*, 1906, pp. 476-92.

² Joseph Bédier, "Fragment d'un ancien mystère," *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 86-94.

³ Ed.: Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du XV^e siècle*, II, 139 ff. (Paris, 1837).

⁴ Ed.: Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.

⁵ "Sur quelques sources des Mystères français de la Passion," *Rom.*, XXXV (1906), 365-78.

⁶ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I (Halle, 1911), 258.

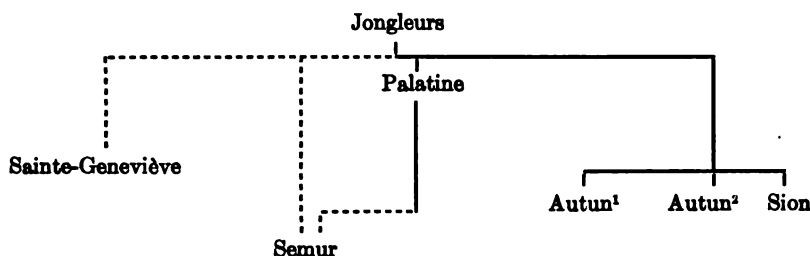
⁷ Ed.: O. Chabaneau, *Revue des langues romanes*, XXVII (1885), 118 ff., 157 ff.; XXXII (1888), 360 ff.

⁸ Ed.: A. Borgnet, *Ly myreur des histours, chronique de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse*, I, 1864 ff. (Bruxelles).

⁹ Hermann Theben, *Die altfranzösische Achtheilbnerredaktion der Passion*, Greifswald, 1909. Erich Pfuhl, *Die weitere Fassung der altfranzösischen Dichtung . . . über Christi Höllenfahrt und Auferstehung*, Greifswald, 1909.

¹⁰ *The Northern Passion*, II (1916), 102 ff. (*ETS* [original series], 147).

the Autun *Passion*, but since he knew the latter only through Roy's analysis and excerpts and the citations of Jeanroy¹ and Schumacher,² he left the question of its relation with the Palatine *Passion* in suspense, saying that an identity of both plays seems excluded and that their common traits can be explained by their archaic character and by the *Passion des Jongleurs* as common source. He suggested that the parallels of the Sainte-Geneviève and Semur *Passions* may have their ground in a common source, which also perhaps may be the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and remarked that the likeness of the Semur *Passion* to the Autun *Passion* pointed out by Jeanroy could come from the Palatine *Passion*. The result of his deductions as we can infer it from his treatment would presumably present the following aspect:



Mrs. Frank has made³ the comparison of the Palatine *Passion* with the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and pointed out a large number of passages which establish without doubt the close relation of the two. The Sion fragment, she states⁴, may be regarded as a more or less remote ancestor of the Palatine and Autun *Passions*, arguing that their source is either the source of the Sion fragment or a derivative of it, because in that part of the *Passion* included in the Sion fragment the Palatine and Autun *Passions* have no lines in common which are not in the Sion fragment, and because they both omit two lines found in the Sion fragment. Since both Palatine and Autun *Passions* have independent connections with the Sion fragment, since they have in common several lines and scenes not in the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and since, moreover, the Autun *Passion* contains details from the *Passion des Jongleurs* not in the Palatine *Passion*, Mrs. Frank argues that these two derive not from each other but from a common source from which the Palatine *Passion* has eliminated certain elements; and that, since the similarities in the two plays are not confined to scenes related to the *Passion des Jongleurs* and to the Sion fragment, we do not possess the immediate source of the Palatine *Passion*, but a play or plays must have existed to explain the similarities in the Palatine and Autun *Passions* which do not derive from any dependence of one text upon the other and which do not derive from a common source

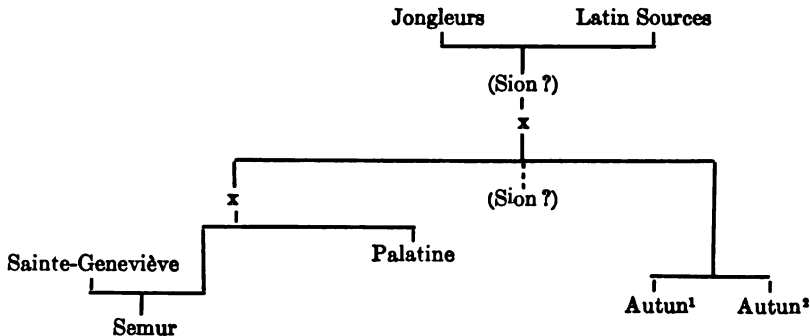
¹ *Rom.* 1906, loc. cit.

² "Les éléments narratifs de la *Passion* d'Autun et les indications scéniques du drame médiéval," *Rom.*, XXXVII (1908), 570-93.

³ *MLN*, 1920, loc. cit.

⁴ *PMLA*, 1920, loc. cit.

in the *Passion des Jongleurs*. According to her, the clerk who was the author of the archetype turned to Latin sources and to the *Passion des Jongleurs*; in their turn the clerks who put together the originals of the Palatine and Autun *Passions* repeated the process, and the redactor of the Palatine *Passion* attempted to enliven his material by adding realistic details and introducing metrical and stanzaic novelties. The Semur *Passion*, Mrs. Frank places, as Dr. Christ had suggested, in the group of the Palatine *Passion* with borrowings from the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion*, because it has a number of parallels found only in the Palatine *Passion*, and because its resemblances to the Autun *Passion* may, except in unimportant minor cases, be explained by common tradition. Since the Semur *Passion* has resemblances to the Palatine *Passion* not in the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and to the latter not in the former, Mrs. Frank is inclined to believe that it used a dramatic source intermediate between the two. She asserts that the complexity of development of the great *Passions* of the fifteenth century prevents any convincing proof of their relationships from being given. To sum up her arguments, she presents the *Passion* plays in this group as undergoing the influence of one another as in the following scheme:



The two main differences between the outlines of Dr. Christ and Mrs. Frank lie in the relations between the Sainte-Geneviève and Semur *Passions*, and in the location of the Sion fragment. Concerning the first, it may be definitely stated that Dr. Christ is wrong in assuming the *Passion des Jongleurs* as a common source; the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion* certainly does not belong to the group of the narrative *Passion*. Dr. Christ may have been misled by Roy's description, which is unfortunately none too full. Whether, as Sepet thought,¹ the Semur *Passion* derives its resemblances to the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion* from the source of the latter, or whether it is dependent upon the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion* itself, seems impossible of demonstration. As to the second difference, it is here that Mrs. Frank's arguments have least weight. The fact that both the Palatine and Autun *Passions* have no lines

¹ *Rom.*, XXXIV (1905), 468.

in common not in the fragment does not render it impossible for the latter to be, as Roy and Dr. Christ believed, part of the *Autun Passion*, and the two lines found in neither *Passion* might be regarded as an addition in the fragment. Moreover, the *Autun Passion* is, with the *Sion* fragment, the only play in the group in which the harrowing of Hell occurs after the resurrection, and these two plays contain several common passages not in the *Palatine Passion*. Argument about a fragment of which we can know so little is far from conclusive, but it would hardly seem probable that the *Sion* fragment represents a forerunner of the *Palatine* and *Autun Passions*. There appears to be nothing either to establish or exclude placing it in a third line of development from a source common to all three plays rather than in the group of the *Autun Passion*. In the remaining part of her work on the sources and development, Mrs. Frank has given a plan far more complete than that of Dr. Christ. She is usually careful to ascribe to her theories only that comparative amount of certainty which she can derive from her study. We see that the three stages in the redaction of the *Palatine Passion* which she proposed from a study of the language are, if not proved, at least rendered probable. It seems that the final judgment upon this section of her study might well be that she has offered what is, so far, the best and fullest explanation of the facts as we have them, and that if in certain points she may in the light of subsequent discoveries be shown to be in the wrong, her main outlines will stand firm. She has proved the influence of the *Passion des Jongleurs* upon the *Palatine* and *Autun Passions*, and that of the *Palatine* group plus the *Sainte-Geneviève Passion* upon the *Semur Passion*, and showed that the *Palatine* and *Autun Passions* go back to some common source derived from the *Passion des Jongleurs*.

As to the two editions themselves it may be stated that while that of Mrs. Frank offers a version in several ways the clearer and more intelligible of the two, that of Dr. Christ has the advantage of rendering it much easier to ascertain the original readings of the manuscript. He indicates proposed deletions and revisions by parentheses and brackets, and gives the manuscript readings at the bottom of each page instead of in notes at the end of the edition. Since only rarely are the speakers indicated in the manuscript, Mrs. Frank, on the analogy of attributions in the related *Passions*, has been able to improve on Dr. Christ's distribution in several minor cases. More especially has she caught better the spirit of the dialogue in the scene of the harrowing of Hell, where she had no parallels as guide. In the treatment of the few narrative lines found in the play both editors agree in stating that the lines of either were copied from some narrative *Passion*—not the *Passion des Jongleurs*—or were involuntary slips of the scribe. In the case of line 402, Mrs. Frank seems to be right in considering it to be a stage-direction since it has no rhyme, and in interpreting it as *Parole n'a parolé* rather than as *Parole, va parole!* It cannot definitely be decided whether she be right in assigning line 254 to [*Uns Juis*] and punctuating with an exclamation

point, or whether we should read the line with Dr. Christ as again a stage-direction. We find Mrs. Frank indebted to Dr. Christ in some seventy instances for correction of the manuscript reading. In two lines (108, 1723) the attribution of the correction to Dr. Christ has been accidentally omitted, and in one (1496) she attributes her correction to Dr. Christ although he prints the manuscript reading as it stands. She shows some inconsistency in accepting his emendations in regard to the long form of the future; for example, she prints *averai* (89) but *avra* (33). She is wrong in giving (p. xiii) the form of 89 as *avra*. Throughout she resolves without comment the abbreviation *que* before a vowel as *qu'* where the meter demands it, although she wisely attempts few corrections in other cases of faulty meter. In about thirty cases¹ she does not take advantage of the corrections she herself suggested in her critical remarks on Dr. Christ's text. Her readings in the few places where she varies decidedly from those of Dr. Christ are usually an improvement, but in lines 1667 and 1936 her changes do not seem sufficiently justified. There are few misprints: *larne* for *l'arme* (1698), and seemingly *meïmes* for *meïsmes* (1392). Dr. Christ's explanatory notes are fuller and have the advantage of not being hidden by the list of variant readings. The material he gives can generally be found in Mrs. Frank's supplementary articles on the Passion plays; still it is convenient to find it brought into closer relation with the text. Mrs. Frank's glossary is far fuller and more accurate than the incomplete one given by Dr. Christ, while he in his turn has the advantage of including a photographed page of the manuscript.

With the advantage of possessing much basic material in the anterior work of Dr. Christ, Mrs. Frank has been able to make use of this material, at the same time profiting by Dr. Christ's mistakes as well as by his example. Again, from the fact that she had at her disposal much invaluable supplementary material not accessible to Dr. Christ, her deductions have been rendered more stable and more detailed. Finally, she appears to possess, in a higher degree than Dr. Christ, that intangible quality called literary appreciation. All this of course cannot take away from Dr. Christ the honor of having been the discoverer of the play, or of having first worked over the problems and having offered solutions which are in a great many cases acceptable and probably correct. In short, while it is unfortunate that the material for the study of the Passion be further complicated, both editions will surely demand consideration from the future worker in the field, although it seems that in the greater percentage of cases where they are at variance, that of Mrs. Frank will be found the surer guide.

BATEMAN EDWARDS

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

¹ Lines 71, 103, 108, 142, 159, 450, 543, 620, 634, 664, 699-700, 937, 947, 1002, 1019-35, 1092, 1095, 1099, 1105, 1124, 1182, 1191-92, 1281, 1376, 1387, 1677, 1681, 1684, 1690, 1797, 1843.

Types of English Drama, 1660-1780. BY DAVID HARRISON STEVENS. Ginn & Co., 1923. Pp. viii+920.

Professor Stevens has given us a comprehensive and altogether excellent collection of plays representative of the Restoration and the eighteenth century. As a practical working text the book is a boon to students and readers alike, if only for the simple reason that it brings together in attractive, convenient, and scholarly form a considerably greater amount of material than has been available in earlier collections of this sort. Twenty-two plays, reprinted so far as possible from first editions, are crowded into this book, which is, I think, some ten or a dozen times better than anything of the kind we have had before. The point is that much of the additional material, important as it is, has hitherto been relatively hard to get at, because certain of the plays are scarcely to be found at all in modern editions, while others have been neglected in earlier collections. The new book will enable those who have no extensive libraries at hand to draw upon something more than the usual baker's dozen of the plays of Dryden, Otway, Congreve, Sheridan, *et al.* Mr. Stevens, besides retaining these and adding others by the same dramatists, prints also *The Rehearsal*, Etherege's *Man of Mode*, Shadwell's *Bury Fair*, Rowe's *Jane Shore*, Lillo's *London Merchant*, and Home's *Douglas*.

Here, one might say, is God's plenty, so far as this period of our drama affords it. The new book, accordingly, will be received with thanksgiving even though on one or two questions there may be slight differences of opinion between its editor and a reviewer here and there. It is not to be expected that Professor Stevens will altogether escape the usual fate of anthologists. The chances are that if someone else had done his book, certain plays would have been omitted and certain others substituted, and he will no doubt hear of various things he might have done instead of the good thing he did. "Wycherley," says Mr. Stevens, "and the second-rate tragedians of the late seventeenth century have not sufficient historical importance to justify the reprinting of plays quite out of keeping with modern taste." Here it might be pardonable if it were not ungenerous to query whether *The Plain Dealer*, to mention nothing else of Wycherley's, is not, after all, at least as significant historically as Goldsmith's *Good-Natured Man* or Sheridan's *Duenna*, both of which Mr. Stevens reprints. As regards the sensibility of modern taste, one sometimes feels that even the best of modern editors pamper the thing too much, as witness Mr. Stevens' occasional "expurgation of objectionable words." The italics are mine; the expedient seems to me a somewhat debatable one in a volume of Restoration plays.

To return for a moment to the second-rate tragedians of the late seventeenth century; an old colleague of mine in a recent letter speaks enthusiastically of the new book but sees "no reason for printing *The Duenna* and omitting *The Rival Queens*." On the *tot homines* principle there is, of course, no arguing such points as these, and Mr. Stevens is surely within his rights in

defending his choice, as he does in his notes, by emphasizing the "rough vigor" and the stage effectiveness of the Sheridan opera. The present reviewer, however, cannot altogether escape the feeling that something might have been gained by omitting the oft-reprinted and readily accessible secondary works of Goldsmith and Sheridan. Thereby space might have been saved for something of Vanbrugh's, who is not represented at all, and perhaps (to mention another personal predilection) for Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*.

The reader will know how to discount these personal preferences of one of those envious persons called critics, who, as Mr. Bayes remarked, will find fault and censure things that they are not able to do themselves! Mr. Stevens' book, at all events, is so good that these passing questions will not disturb it or him. Its strong list of plays is not its only good point. Those of us who were lucky enough to see and hear *The Beggar's Opera* lately will count ourselves twice blessed in finding its delightful airs reproduced with the text in this volume. The editor, for his part, found space also to provide a valuable critical apparatus by reprinting the original dedications and prefaces of the plays. Of Mr. Stevens' own notes, the introductory remarks on the plays and the biographical summaries are the most serviceable. Without seeking to contribute new matter for specialists, these notes will furnish students with sound critical tests and thorough summaries of the known facts about the plays and dramatists. Mr. Stevens' publishers, finally, deserve praise for giving him sufficient elbow-room and for producing a well-printed book.

ALWIN THALER

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin. BY OTTO JESPERSEN.

London: Allen & Unwin, 1922. Pp. 448.

To compose a fair and worthy appreciation of this most interesting volume of Professor Jespersen's is not an easy undertaking, for it is so crammed with a variety of suggestive discussions all centering about the author's general theme of the life and growth of language, and it is so rich in the constant expression of his own definite opinions that one is aghast at the breadth of research and the depth of thought revealed in its pages. Indeed, it is so well planned and so carefully thought out that one cannot fully appreciate the splendid workmanship represented in the organization of the wealth of material involved until he has read through to the final page.

The study is divided into four books, of which the first is a survey of the "History of Linguistic Science." Only a scholar of the ripest experience and most profound thinking could venture to interpret this history in the broad-minded and comprehensive manner that Professor Jespersen does. And probably only those readers who have devoted considerable time to surveying the field of scholarly activity in Germanic, and especially English,

philology can appreciate the worth of this interpretation—the tracing of the beginnings of comparative and historical philology, and the appraisal of the various attitudes which philologists have taken toward the question of language growth and its causes. When the history of the study of the English language shall be written, the scholar who does it will do well to weigh carefully what is said on the subject in this first book.

The second book gets down to the business of considering the aspects and causes of linguistic development, and while the title, "The Child," might seem, at first glance, rather far removed from the subject-matter of the final chapters of the entire study (which attempt a reasonable discussion of the much-vexed question of the genesis of language), as a matter of fact the author is trying to find in the childhood of the present-day individual linguistic tendencies, which may help to throw light on the linguistic beginnings of the human race, as well as to account for the manifold changes that have taken place and are still taking place in the languages of historical times. In a thorough discussion of the speech of the child, the author traces the beginnings of the speech of the human individual, from the earliest incoherent screams and babblings through the attempts at definite sounds and words and through the development of his grammar, concluding with the question of the influence which he ultimately exerts upon the language which he learns to use. If one might venture any criticism of this book, it would be to point out that although Professor Jespersen has weighed carefully the influence of the young child and of the adult upon the progress of language, he has not paid enough attention to the linguistic tendencies manifested by the child, and more especially the boy, between five and fifteen years of age. While the little child may modify the language learned from its parents, it does so unconsciously for the most part, whereas the speech of the older boy, after he begins to associate with other boys, is often deliberately modified, until it is so filled with slang, peculiar pronunciations, and perversions of meaning, that the parent sometimes regards his son almost as a speaker of an alien tongue. And although it is true that much of this state of things is transient and unimportant, yet the boy slips so gradually into the man that he undoubtedly carries into later life modes of expression which grew out of this age of linguistic lawlessness. It is interesting to watch the parent protest against these innovations, then become tolerant of them, and finally fall into the way of using them, especially when several children unite in bringing into the home these novelties of speech.

There are so many suggestive passages in this second book that one is continually tempted to drop the impersonal formality supposed to be proper in a review such as the present, and to speak right out, testifying to his own observations and opinions along the lines suggested. I was particularly interested in the author's comments upon bilingualism in children, for there is so much opportunity to see the effects of it in the United States, and his conclusions as to the limitations resultant in later speech development accord so exactly with my own observations that I must agree with them most heartily.

In the next book linguistic change is studied as it is brought about by the introduction of foreign elements into a language, by the creation of hybrid tongues, jargons, etc., such as Beach-la-Mar, Pidgin English, and the Chinook jargon. The influence of the woman, linguistically considered, is also discussed and appraised, and, finally, the causes of change of anatomy, geographical influences, national psychology, speed of utterance, etc., are taken up, one after the other, and examined, with a view to determining how far each may have modified language in general. Particularly in the last chapters of this third book, which deal with causes of change, one is impressed with the immensity of the field under examination when at almost every step one would like to stop and offer comment or submit further illustrative matter. For example, under the head of "Lapses and Blendings" (pp. 279 ff.), I cannot refrain from suggesting that this same anticipatory or consequential contamination frequently occurs in the rapid writing of quick-witted students, resulting in such incongruous combinations as "still till five o'clock" (for "stay till five o'clock"), or "the leaving were falling down" (for "the leaves were falling down"); and since I have had occasion to handle of late many references to articles in periodicals, I have not infrequently found errors which seemed to be due to this same tendency of the mind to run ahead or lag behind the pen, such errors, for example, as 82:382 for 82:362, or 94:324 for 94:320. I have been told, moreover, that this tendency of the mind sometimes makes considerable trouble in banks, where many combinations of figures are handled.

In the fourth and last book, dealing with "The Development of Language," the author discusses some questions especially interesting to the lover of modern English—as to whether uninflected languages are inferior or superior to the more highly inflected ones, the ideals to be considered in the appraisal of modern language tendencies, the effects of word-shortening, the causes of irregularity, etc. In this last book Professor Jespersen introduces rather more original matter emanating from his own special studies than he does elsewhere, and in the presentation of certain etymological problems leaves the reader not so well satisfied, perhaps, as in the earlier parts of the book. In his final chapters, moreover, in which he touches upon the problems involved in the study of the origin of speech, he takes up a subject which has long been discussed and which, as he admits, is not likely to lead to much that is definite or conclusive.

Perhaps the feature of the entire book which impressed me most was the judicial manner in which Professor Jespersen introduces his evidence and weighs it without letting himself be carried away by over-much enthusiasm for any one theory. Numerous are the theories discussed which have been put forward at one time or another in explanation of the changes that have taken place in languages and regarding the beginnings of human speech. There is indeed in this book material for a work of several volumes equally large. Jespersen's discussion would make a splendid guide for a seminary

course on the philosophy of language provided one could have that ideal class of mature students who combine an intense enthusiasm for all the many aspects of linguistic change with a comprehensive knowledge of languages and of their individual characteristics.

As to the details of the author's English and the more striking aspects of his nomenclature, something might be said, perhaps, in the way of criticism, but on the whole the English employed is remarkably lucid and strong. In fact, the author uses the modern idiom in a way that is at times most forceful. He evidently makes an effort to break away from some of the terms which have been used so generally as a result of the influence of German philologists, and for the most part I can sympathize with the desire to do so, although in the case of "Gothic" I see no gain, since the word suggests at once in "Gothic" a word of narrower connotation and one which even yet is used by writers in widely different ways.

The book suggests a multitude of interesting lines of investigation, and to those who have worked at the problems outlined and who can appreciate the long and careful research and the clear thinking involved in its composition, the results must appeal as in general sound and scholarly.

ARTHUR G. KENNEDY

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

A Grammar of the German Language. Revised and Enlarged. By
GEORGE O. CURME. New York: Macmillan, 1922. Pp. xii+623.

While reading this truly *new* book, I compared it constantly with the earlier work of the same title, published seventeen years ago. The Preface I read last of all; a passage of it afforded me a striking confirmation of the most vivid impression that the study of the two books had given me. Shortly before I had said to two colleagues: "This is much more than an objective work of science. It is *that*; but it is also a magnificent record of scholarly and human evolution in the soul of a truly great, sincere, and good man. It is a document of joyful sacrifice." One of them, being well acquainted with the work and its author, assented immediately. The other, being less in touch with philological ways of thinking and feeling, was skeptical; he found it hard to understand how a "mere grammar" could convey such a spiritual message. I am afraid he suspected me of an autosuggestive illusion. But the author's self-analysis is on my side. Quite in keeping with the great clearness of the book he understands that which is hardest to understand for every man—his own soul; he says in the Preface: "He feels the new issue as quite a different book. It is a record of striking inner change and development"—the unfolding of a *Persönlichkeit*, I would add, to which I pay an even higher tribute than to the unquestionable material and scholarly merit of the book. A detailed comparison of the two editions reveals many a

struggle during their interval. Former views are silently abandoned in countless instances, new theories are advanced in such a modest, matter-of-fact way that the casual reader will hardly notice the innovations, and the illustrative material is economized to such a degree that the vast volume of the author's collections is apparent not so much from the mere number of examples as from the aptness of their selection.

In its concrete aspects, the new book is far more pleasing than the old one. The beautiful monotype print, the good quality of paper and binding, and the *Übersichtlichkeit* of the typographical arrangement recommend it at first glance. The number of pages has been reduced from 661 to 623, but the print surface measures 5×8 inches instead of 4×6½, and a type of a much narrower set has been used. This and a number of skilful space-saving devices implies an increase of the contents by at least 40 per cent. At first I felt inclined to regret the use of bold-face roman instead of German type for the examples, but soon I became convinced that it adds greatly not only to the beauty of the printed page but especially to the ease of reference. This is further enhanced by the judicious addition of numerous subtitles, subdivisions, and running heads for subchapters. Altogether, the new book is much more inviting to constant use than the old edition.

It is so remarkably free from misprints that the reviewer feels rather ashamed to refer to such trifles as he has noticed. On page 60, the period after "Ludwig XIV." is omitted; on page 283, sixth line from the bottom, the second *e* in "perfect" fell out of the form; now and then, e.g., on pages 84, 94, column heads of paradigms are placed inconsistently. On the other hand, quite a few errors and misprints of the first edition have been rectified.

Comparative tests of the numerous lists of examples point to the most rigorous economy in the use of material. In many cases they are briefer, but more useful than in the earlier edition, while other lists are so greatly extended that the book is now without a parallel as a complete compendium.

The phonetic part is almost entirely new. The author, who used to favor the North-German pronunciation, has yielded to the clear trend of the last generation in accepting unreservedly the stage pronunciation and the transcription of the Association Phonétique, but he has also modernized the theoretical features of this chapter. Thus, he designates *h* as a glottal spirant (i.e., Viëtor's *h'*) instead of an "aspirate" (however, in a note on p. 28 he characterizes it as a voiceless vowel—Viëtor's *h*²); *äu* is transcribed as *œ* instead of *œ̃*; the French nasal vowels are indicated as such, and not by means of *η*; quantity and accent are treated with the utmost care. I am not quite sure whether I can agree with the author's theory on "divided consonants," advanced chiefly on page 42. I certainly accept it if it means that after a short vowel the occlusion belongs to the preceding, the opening to the following syllable. But Curme's explanation of the treatment of geminates in the second sound shift (p. 38) seems to indicate that he assumes two complete consonant articulations, at least for an earlier period of the

language, a hypothesis that I consider untenable. It is clearly an oversight when he states (p. 12) that "l, m, n and lingual r do not differ in any essential point from vowels in their formation, though on the basis of function they must in most cases be classified as consonants." These sounds are true consonants as to formation, although belonging to Sievers' "Sonore," but they often appear in vocalic function. (By the way: Why "lingual" r only? And why does the table on the same page list this r as a liquid, but uvular R as a spirant? Is it not an understatement to say that lingual r is only "heard in certain localities" [§36, 6], "confined to provinces and small towns" [§37, 2], and "is disappearing despite its adoption by the stage and certain enthusiasts"?)

The morphological section abounds in far-reaching changes of conception and presentation. The chapter on the subjunctive is an especially fertile one. Even more definitely than in the earlier work, Curme distinguishes two types of the subjunctive, which he terms as "present tense forms" and "past tense forms"—a distinct improvement over the older terms "subjunctive of principal tenses" and "subjunctive of historical tenses." He says, "The different tenses within each group mark different distinctions of time, but the tenses of one group as compared with those of the other group do not mark different distinctions of time, but differ only in the manner in which they represent the statement." This is the best statement of the facts that has ever been given, and the terms are good (much superior to the terms "First and Second Subjunctives," used in the reviewer's elementary grammar), but I feel that they might still be improved in a way that would imply that we are considering not merely two sets of forms, but really two different moods. In a German book I should risk the expressions *der Potential—der Irreal*—but how render the latter term in English? The question has puzzled me for a long time. Would the pairs "Potential—Optative" or "Subjunctive—Optative" do? I regret to see the traditional statement retained, that in optative expressions "a present tense form [indicates] hope of fulfilment, a past tense form . . . little or no hope of fulfilment." This is hardly true; the present tense form is restricted to solemn phrases (*Das gebe Gott!*), but there is no real difference in the degree of confidence; the solemn type is naturally more objective, the colloquial type more impulsive or subjective, but that is implied in the situation, not in the form of the verb. In the discussion of final clauses the modern prevalence of the indicative after a present tense is stated. The use of the "past periphrastic subjunctive" (the form with *würde*) is discussed clearly and comprehensively, but I might add that it seems to be given especial preference when there is some uncertainty as to the correct simple form, or some other reason of aversion against it, e.g.: *einhausen würde* for *einhiebe*, *einhaute*; *wenn es etwas helfen würde* for *hülfe*, *hülfe*; *würde erheben* for *erhöbe*, *erhübe*; *fliehen würde* for *flöhe*; *lesen würde* for *läse*. The new chapter on aspects (p. 164) opens up new vistas of great promise, and the treatment of the use of the tenses is magnificently bold. As far as I know, Curme is

the first grammarian to recognize without reserve that *werden* with the infinitive is rather a modal than a tense auxiliary (p. 214), the so-called future tense being less positive than the present tense; the old edition had suggested but not firmly stated that fact.

This boldness, which is at the same time cautious, because it is always founded on clear facts, characterizes many chapters of the morphology and most of the syntax. It is greatly enhanced by a fortunate skill in the coining of new terms for new thoughts. The following are especially apt:

OLD EDITION	NEW EDITION
Indefinite <i>Es</i>	Situation <i>Es</i>
Remutation (<i>Rückumlaut</i>)	Unmutation
Gerundives	Modal Verbals
Modal Adverbs	Sentence Adverbs (in part)
Quasi Passive	(Actional and) Statal Passive

Every one of these new terms implies a new attitude in grammatical theory, deserving a far more detailed discussion than the scope of a review permits. In fact, its great wealth of new thoughts precludes an adequate review of Curme's work. Countless details of great interest and value must be omitted.

It is in connection with the historical side of the book that I regret the limitations of space most keenly. In the form of introductions to chapters and extensive notes, the author adds invaluable historical material to the descriptive grammar. Everywhere he shows the dynamic forces in the language, the colloquial as well as the literary form, giving a continuous picture of its general trend and its territorial differentiation. I have learned a great deal from such historical discussions as that of the impersonal verbs, the copula, the perfect auxiliaries, the spread of mutation in noun plurals, the verb classes, the replacement of subjunctives by indicatives—and very many others.

With great hesitation I venture to mention a few points on which I differ with the author, at least for the time being. He seems to possess such conclusive evidence for all of his statements that my doubts must necessarily take the form of questions rather than of objections. For instance: Is the form "ein Bourbon" (p. 66) really in use? Does "Diese Knöpfe sind *eine* der besten" (§121.1.D.a) occur in popular language? The accusative form for the predicate is mentioned for Swiss (§252.2.C.a); is it not even more widespread in Low German? I am not acquainted with the phrase "Ich weiss nicht, wie ich bekehrt bin" or "wie mir bekehrt ist" (p. 336) = "I am sorely puzzled"; is it really "common in colloquial language"? Is the neuter "das tapfere Emden" (p. 122) ever used for the ship? I had not observed that the full forms *schmeichele*, *handele* (p. 256) are now more common than *schmeichle*, *handle*. On page 122 (old and new) it had better be stated that the names of *metals*, not *minerals*, are neuters; otherwise, a very large number of exceptions would have to be mentioned (*Kohle*, *Granit*,

Quarz, Schwefel, Kiesel, Kreide, Schiefer, Kalk, Feldspat, Lehm, Ton, Phosphor, the names of most precious stones, etc.).

Quantitatively, the author felt obliged to dispense with much of his illustrative material, but a number of symptoms permit us to guess at the stupendous labor involved in its accumulation. One feature of the choice of instances is also characteristic of the extent to which the material covers the most recent period: We find instances from speeches and proclamations by President Ebert, Kurt Eisner, Bethmann-Hollweg; from very recent issues of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, *Tägliche Rundschau*, *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Neue Freie Presse*; from *Feldpostbriefe* and other documents of the late war and the German Republic.

Even the most exhaustive compendium must leave some questions unanswered, and any demands for still greater completeness are hardly more than expressions of subjective curiosity. Personally, I might mention these few *desiderata*: A discussion of German punctuation and capitalization, especially from a historical point of view, would have been a task worthy of Professor Curme's scholarship. The stilistical difference between contracted and uncontracted forms like *im* and *in dem*, the first being generic, the second disjunctive, might have been added on page 59. In section 183 it might have been mentioned that the tense meaning of past participles depends in part on the aspect, *geliebte Eltern* denoting the present or, better, being tenseless, because *lieben* is durative. The remark on page 309, bottom, concerning the *δ*-subjunctives of the type *gölle*, *börste*, does not settle my uncertainty concerning those forms, but linguistic feeling has not yet come to a decision on that point.

E. PROKOSCH

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

Hispanic Notes and Monographs. I. *Fray Luis de León*. By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. A Biographical Fragment. Oxford University Press, 1921.

II. *The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*. By JULIA FITZMAURICE-KELLY. Oxford University Press, 1921.

Portuguese Series. I. *Gil Vicente*. By AUBREY F. G. BELL. Oxford University Press, 1921.

These three volumes, inaugurating two new series of Hispanic publications, bear the imprimatur of the Hispanic Society of America and have the same binding, format, and beautiful typography as that of the Peninsular Series, published in this country by Putnam's, to which Miss G. G. King and Mr. E. C. Hills have already contributed.

The most important of the three books here considered is the first. It is, as the author wistfully tells us, "a fragment of a book which will now never come into existence." The exhaustive study which Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly had projected may in time be supplied by Mr. A. Coster, who is now working in this field. But we are very grateful for this shorter work, which, though

modestly styled a fragment, nevertheless offers a very complete, if brief, account of the author treated. More space is devoted to biography than to the criticism of Fray Luis' works. The famous process brought against Luis de León by the Inquisition is treated exhaustively. Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly has subjected all the documents in the case to a very close and fair analysis. It is the best account of the trial yet printed. One feels that he had nearly completed the biographical portion of his task, but has been unable to discuss his author's works as fully as he had intended.

The second volume contributes little new to our knowledge of the historian of Peru, but a great deal of information is made available for the first time to the English reader unfamiliar with Spanish. The Inca Garcilaso is a romantic figure, interesting alike as an individual and as a writer. Mrs. Julia Fitzmaurice-Kelly has studied her subject with thoroughness. She has the knack of sifting out from her often arid sources the essential, the picturesque, and the human. Her conclusions are presented in brief compass.

G. T. NORTUP

The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays. By M. A. BUCHANAN.
University of Toronto, Philological Series No. 6, Toronto, 1922.

Mr. Buchanan, who has done so much to elucidate the bibliography of Lope de Vega's drama, now attempts to work out a scheme for dating Lope's plays by applying metrical tests. He seeks to establish a series of formulas, indicative each of a special period of Lope's activity, much as Mr. S. Griswold Morley has tried to work out the personal formulas of certain of the later dramatists. Starting with the hundred-odd Lope plays which may be positively dated, he analyzes the meters found in each and tabulates them. A play of uncertain date can then be fitted into the scheme, at least with fair approximation, according to the relative proportion of the meters employed in it.

Buchanan finds that Lope first introduced the ballad meter into plays about 1585. By 1593 it formed an integral part of every play's versification; by 1622 it frequently surpassed the *redondilla*. The *décima* makes its first appearance in a play of known date in 1599. After 1610 it appears regularly. Buchanan's study establishes many important facts like these.

One minor omission. There is no mention of *Dómine Lucas* in either the schedule of the dated or that of the early plays. It can be dated as belonging to the Alba de Tormes period. In his Preface Lope apologizes for the crudities of his verse, and there was clearly no later revision. Metrically it belongs to the early period. The bulk of the play is in *redondillas*, with a few passages of 11-syllable verse, both blank and rhymed. There are no *deéimas*, *quintillas*, *octavas*, *silvas*, nor *verso de romance*. Buchanan's lists are not absolutely complete, but he has studied sufficient plays to illustrate the succession of Lope's metrical phases. The evolution from extreme simplicity to richness and variety is well brought out.

G. T. NORTUP

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ENGLISH PRIMITIVISTIC THEORIES OF EPIC ORIGINS

The eighteenth century saw a change in the critical conception of the epic from that of the Aristotelian formalist at the beginning of the century to that of the primitivistic critic in the latter part. Critics of the former school regarded the epic, whether by Homer or Virgil, as the highest and most difficult form of literary art, the product of a sophisticated writer, who, as a conscious literary artist, followed certain prescribed regulations and wrote with a definite moral purpose. The primitivists, on the other hand, assumed that the epic was the product of the primitive bard, ignorant of rhetoric and rules of the epic, who sang his lays to savage audiences on festival occasions. In a longer study¹ I have traced in detail this change in attitude from the Restoration period to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In this article it is my purpose to discuss merely: (1) the Scottish school of authors and critics among whom the primitivistic theories of the epic reached their fullest development; (2) the nature of the theories themselves as they were developed in the second half of the eighteenth century; and (3) some of the sources of primitivistic ideas.

I am using the term *primitivism* perhaps somewhat loosely to cover not only a general idealization of primitive man, but also an idealization of primitive poets, or such as were conceived of in the eighteenth century as primitive. Although enthusiasm for the

¹ *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Primitivistic Theories of Epic Origins*, an unpublished Doctor's dissertation, the University of Chicago, 1921.

primitive poet is undoubtedly an outgrowth of a more general idealization of primitive man, it is sometimes found where many of the aspects of the latter are lacking. While I have confined myself in this article chiefly to the consideration of primitivistic literary theories, I hope later in a more comprehensive study of primitivism to point out more specifically the many ramifications of the general theory and their mutual relationships.

I. THE SCOTTISH SCHOOL OF PRIMITIVISTS

The Scottish writers who were engaged in the investigation of primitive man and primitive poetry fall into two groups, one located at Aberdeen, chiefly at Marischal College, the other at Edinburgh. The controlling personalities in the Aberdeen group seem to have been Thomas Blackwell, author of the *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, and Thomas Reid, the philosopher; the central figures at Edinburgh were Henry Home (Lord Kames), author of *Elements of Criticism* and *Sketches of the History of Man*; Adam Smith, the economist, author of *Considerations concerning the First Formation of Languages*, and Hugh Blair, professor of rhetoric and *belles lettres* at the University of Edinburgh. Between the two groups there were many cross-influences.

Thomas Blackwell is, for our purposes, far the most significant figure of the Aberdeen group. He held a professorship of Greek at Marischal College from 1723 to his death in 1757. This means that all the men who attended Marischal College during that period were practically certain to come directly under his influence in their study of Greek during their first year. That Blackwell was most influential as a teacher is amply substantiated by contemporary comment. Alexander Gerard, who was closely associated with him for many years, writes:

As in learning and knowledge he was exquisite and equal to any, so in the address of a teacher he was perhaps superior to all. No man ever possessed in a more eminent degree the talent of inspiring young minds with the love of learning: of begetting among them a generous emulation; and of forming them to a taste and perception of what was elegant and beautiful in the admired productions of antiquity.¹

¹ A. F. Tytler, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames* (Edinburgh, 1814), III, 73-74.

And even Ramsay, who shows the greatest irritation at Blackwell's Shaftesburean affectations, admits that he had "a happy, efficacious way of interesting his scholars in all he taught or said to them."¹ Not only is he said to have revived the study of Greek literature in the north of Scotland,² but to have been very much interested in philosophy also. Ramsay speaks of him as "strangely inclined to the philosophy which was then coming fast into vogue."³ The philosophy here referred to was that of Shaftesbury, whom Ramsay calls Blackwell's "favourite philosopher, whom it was at the time the fashion to admire extravagantly."⁴ Blackwell's long professorship at Aberdeen is therefore significant, not only because he was thereby given abundant opportunity for the transmission of his own ideas about Homer, the epic, and the characteristics of early language in general, but because he served during this long period as a channel for the influence of Shaftesbury.

Among the men who came directly under the influence of Blackwell, James Burnet, Lord Monboddo,⁵ author of a six-volume work entitled *The Origin and Progress of Language*, and another on *Antient Metaphysics, or the Science of Universals*, stands foremost. Monboddo's lifelong interest in classical literature is attributed by his biographers directly to the inspiration of Blackwell.⁶ He went from Aberdeen to Edinburgh and was there closely associated, though not on the best of terms, with Kames, who was his brother at the bar, and with the other Edinburgh literati of the time. James Beattie was another illustrious Marischal man, and James Macpherson was a member of both colleges, migrating from King's College to Marischal College in 1754.⁷ Macpherson could scarcely have had Blackwell in Greek, however, as Saunders, his biographer, supposes,⁸ for Greek

¹ John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London, 1888), I, 291-92.

² Robert Chambers, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Glasgow, 1835), I, 424.

³ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 291.

⁴ Cf. Tytler's remark that "his model of imitation was Lord Shaftesbury," *op. cit.*, I, 231.

⁵ At Marischal College from 1730 to 1734. P. J. Anderson, *Fasti Academiae Marischallanae Aberdonensis* (Aberdeen, 1889), II, 307.

⁶ Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 424; and Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 351.

⁷ *Fasti Acad. Marisc.*, II, 323.

⁸ Saunders gives an anecdote about Macpherson in Blackwell's Greek class, but if he got the story from Ramsay, as he professes, he appears to have deliberately changed the name Broadfoot in the original to Blackwell, for it is the former in Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 545-46. Bailey Saunders, *Life and Letters of James Macpherson* (London, 1854), p. 41.

was a first-year course, but he could not have failed to come somewhat under the influence of Blackwell and he may have taken the lectures on ancient history, geography, and chronology which Blackwell had first opened in 1750.¹ With Macpherson's relations to the Edinburgh men I shall deal later.

Alexander Gerard, author of *Essay on Taste* and *Essay on Genius*, took his M.A. at Marischal in 1744 and after 1750 was connected first with Marischal and then with King's College. William Duff, author of *An Essay on Original Genius* and *Critical Observations on the Writings of the Most Celebrated Original Geniuses in Poetry*, and John Ogilvie, author of *An Essay on the Lyric Poetry of the Ancients*, were both Marischal College graduates. John Gregory and Thomas Reid, both of King's College, were founders of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society or Wise Club² in which originated many later published works, such as Reid's *Inquiry*, George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Beattie's *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*, Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Men with those of the Animal World*, and Gerard's *Essay on Taste* and *Essay on Genius*.³ James Dunbar, another King's College man and author of *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages*, was also a member of this society.

Of these Aberdeen men, Monboddo, Gregory, and Macpherson went also to Edinburgh and were associated with the group of primitivists there, while Gerard, Beattie, and Dunbar, although they did not move to Edinburgh, were connected in one way or another with the Edinburgh group.

Great as was the interest in literary and philosophical questions at Aberdeen about the middle of the century, the real center of intellectual activity at that time in Scotland was in Edinburgh. Discussion of philosophical, scientific, and literary questions was the order of the day. Clubs for discussion multiplied in number and grew in size, and besides these organized associations there was much informal gathering at taverns and coffee houses. The reminiscences of Alexander Carlyle, a member of this Edinburgh group, give some

¹ Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 238.

² W. L. Davidson, "The University's Contribution to Philosophy," in *Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen* ("Aberdeen University Studies," No. 19, 1906), p. 80.

³ Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

idea of the enthusiasm of these informal meetings. Carlyle writes:

Robertson and John Home and Bannatine and I lived all in the country, and came only periodically to the town. Blair and Jardine both lived in it, and suppers being the only fashionable meal at that time, we dined where we best could, and by cadies assembled our friends to meet us in a tavern by nine o'clock; and a fine time it was when we could collect David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Lord Elibank, and Drs. Blair and Jardine on an hour's warning. I remember one night that David Hume, who having dined abroad, came rather later to us, and directly pulled a large key from his pocket, which he laid on the table [*sic*]. This he said was given him by his maid Peggy . . . for she said when the honest fellows came in from the country he never returned home until after one o'clock.¹

Of this group, Lord Kames, David Hume, and Lord Elibank were considered "as a literary triumvirate, from whose judgment, in matters of taste and composition, there lay no appeal."²

One of the most famous societies³ of the middle of the century was the Select Society, originated in 1754 by Allan Ramsay, the son of the poet. It met on Friday evenings in one of the inner apartments of the Advocates Library for purposes of "literary discussion, philosophical inquiry, and improvement in public speaking." From the glowing accounts by the later contemporaries of these early members of the club, it must indeed have been a brilliant association. Dugald Stewart speaks of the debates, "such as have not often been heard in modern assemblies . . . where the most splendid talents that have ever adorned this country were roused to their best exertions by the liberal and ennobling discussion of literature and philosophy."⁴ Tytler writes:

But the Select Society had an influence yet more extensive and permanent in diffusing the taste for letters in Scotland, and in kindling the fire of genius, which then began to display itself in various works, which have done honor to the national character. Besides the classical compositions of Hume, Robertson, Smith, and Fergusson, the writings of John Home, of Professor Wilkie, of Lord Hailes, Lord Monboddo, Sir John Dalrymple, the elder Mr. Tytler, all members of the Select Society of Edinburgh, have thrown a lustre on that institution, as marking the commencement of a literary era, which it is doubtful if the succeeding times have yet seen surpassed.⁵

¹ *Autobiography, containing memorial of the men and events of his time*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1860), p. 275.

² Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 319.

³ For a survey of Scottish learned societies, see H. R. Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship* (New York, 1913), pp. 72 ff.

⁴ *Account of the Life and Writings of Wm. Robertson*, 2d ed. (London, 1802), pp. 15-16.

⁵ Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 245-46.

Among the members in the list for 1759 are: John Jardine, Adam Smith, Alexander Wedderburn, Allan Ramsay, James Burnet (Lord Monboddo), Alexander Carlyle, David Hume, John Home, Hugh Blair, Lord Elibank, William Wilkie, Lord Kames, and Adam Ferguson.¹

Another equally famous club was the Poker Club, established in 1762. Although the starting-point of this association was the political question of the extension of the Militia Bill to Scotland, the interests of the club soon switched to the favorite subjects of the day—philosophy and literature. Adam Ferguson was responsible for the name, a poker being the secret symbol for stirring up the militia question.² Like the Select Society, the Poker Club included in its membership practically all the men with whom we are dealing: Lord Elibank, Alexander Carlyle, Adam Ferguson, John Home, David Hume, Adam Smith, Hugh Blair, Dr. Joseph Black. The society waned somewhat in the early eighties but was revived again in 1786 and to this new Poker Club were elected Dugald Stewart, the biographer of Adam Smith and William Robertson; Henry Mackenzie; and Alexander Fraser Tytler, the biographer of Kames.

Still another society which should be mentioned is the Philosophical Society,³ established originally in 1731, for the improvement of medical knowledge. In 1739 the scope of the society was extended to include subjects of philosophy and literature and it was renamed the "Society for Improving Arts and Sciences." Lord Morton, who was also president of the Royal Society of London, was president of this society for a number of years. Kames was a member and also Ferguson, Robertson, and David Hume.⁴ This philosophical society was reorganized in 1783 into the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Among the members in 1783 were Hugh Blair; Adam Ferguson; John Hill, the biographer of Blair; John Home; Henry Mackenzie; William Robertson; William Smellie, biographer of Gregory, Kames, Hume, and Smith; Adam Smith; Dugald Stewart; and A. F. Tytler. Non-resident members were James Beattie, George Campbell, Alexander Gerard, Thomas Reid, a number of other men from Aberdeen, and

¹ Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 214 ff.

² Carlyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-20.

³ Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 256 ff.

⁴ There were two David Humes in Edinburgh at this time and this might possibly have been David Hume, the Advocate.

James Dunbar. It is interesting to note that M. le Comte de Buffon was an honorary foreign member.

There remains yet to note one other indication of the great intellectual activity of the middle of the century, namely, the projection in 1754 of the *Edinburgh Review* for the discussion of current problems in literature and philosophy, natural and moral. The review ran through only two numbers, those of July, 1755, and January, 1756. Smith, Robertson, Blair, and Jardine were the principal contributors. The most interesting article was undoubtedly Smith's "Letter to the Authors of the *Edinburgh Review*," which appeared in the second number.¹

Turning to some of the individual members of the societies discussed above, we find that Kames, as I have pointed out, was one of the oldest and most influential men of the group of primitivists. Ramsay says of him enthusiastically that "he did more to promote the interests of philosophy and *belles lettres* in Scotland than all the men of law had done for a century before."² He was especially influential with the younger literary men, to whom he acted as both guide and patron. It was through his persuasion and encouragement that Adam Smith was induced to read a series of lectures on rhetoric and *belles lettres* at the University of Edinburgh in 1748, and he was also influential in getting the same position later for Hugh Blair.

Kames seems to have been early interested in the possibility of working out a "conjectural history" of mankind, and to have been a leader in the discussions of primitivist theory. Although his own *Sketches of the History of Man* was not published until 1774, there is evidence that he was occupied with the subject very much earlier. In his Preface to the *Sketches*, he tells us that "above thirty years ago he began to collect materials for a natural history of man." "Above thirty years ago" would bring the first collecting and discussion of the material in the forties. That the ideas for the book were worked out

¹ The journal contained reviews of Gordon's *History of Peter the Great*, by Robertson; Anderson's *History of Croesus, King of Lydia*, by Robertson; the fourth volume of Dodsley's *Collection of Poems*, by Blair; Ebenezer Erskine's *Sermons*, by Jardine; Johnston's *Sermon on Unity*, by Jardine; Johnson's *Dictionary*, by Smith. It also contained a "Letter to the Authors," etc., by Smith; several articles by James Russell, surgeon; and a Preface by Alexander Wedderburn (Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 236, note).

² Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 179. Cf. Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 253.

largely in conversation with the select coterie of which Kames was a member we may infer from the following note in Tytler's *Life*:

It was an invariable practice of Lord Kames, when employed in the composition of any of those works which he intended for the public eye, to direct his researches, not only to writings of others, but to draw out, in conversation with his literary friends, or by correspondence with those persons best qualified to instruct him, every degree of information he could obtain on the subject which engaged his thoughts.¹

Moreover, some of the works which Kames published earlier, notably the *Historical Law Tracts* (1758), show the same tendency to trace social institutions back to their origins in primitive society. He writes in his Preface to this book, "The history of mankind is a delightful subject. A rational inquirer is not less entertained than instructed, when he traces the gradual progress of manners, of laws, of arts, from their birth to their present maturity."²

The fact that the discussion which formed the basis of the various treatises on primitive man began as early as the forties and fifties has an important bearing, as we shall see later, on the problem of sources and influences. There is corroborative evidence of early primitivistic interests in the fact that Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, published in 1767, was written during the fifties. In a letter of Hume to Smith, written in 1759, there is the statement that "Ferguson has very much polished and improved his treatise on Refinement," the treatise which was published finally under the title of *Essay on the History of Civil Society*.³ Similarly, John Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*, published in 1764, represents the results of earlier discussion in the Philosophical Society of Aberdeen.⁴ Finally Monboddo in his *Origin and Progress of Language*, published in 1773, in speaking of the attempt to trace the development of mankind from the earliest ages, remarks, "This is an extensive subject of inquiry, and belongs to a greater work, which I have long meditated, but probably shall not live to execute, I mean, The History of Man."⁵

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 141-42.

² *Historical Law Tracts* (Edinburgh, 1761), p. iii.

³ Stewart, "Life of Adam Smith," in Smith, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, edited by Joseph Black and James Hutton (London, 1795), p. xlvii.

⁴ Smellie, *Literary and Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, Henry Home, Lord Kames, David Hume, and Adam Smith* (Edinburgh, 1800), pp. 5-6.

⁵ *Op. cit.* (Edinburgh, 1774), I, 216.

This early interest in primitivistic theory is especially important in connection with Adam Smith, for his first lectures at Edinburgh in 1748, 1749, and 1750 were never published and hence can only be reconstructed by our knowledge of his intellectual interests at this time. Adam Smith recommends himself particularly to our attention not only because he had an influence, less ostentatious but more enduring than that of Kames, on the literary men of his generation, but because we can trace the working out in him of certain influence which played a part in the whole group. We are fortunate in having fairly full biographical material and, most important of all, in having a catalogue of the books of his library.¹ Although he did not contribute a great amount to the published literature of "conjectural history," he wrote more than he published and he undoubtedly talked more than he wrote.

Smith attended the University of Glasgow where the philosopher Hutcheson was lecturing, and seems to have been greatly impressed by him.² Hutcheson was the interpreter, par excellence, of Shaftesbury, so that here we have another channel for the influence of Shaftesbury. In 1748 he was giving his lectures at the University of Edinburgh which were attended—and used to good effect afterward—by Hugh Blair.³ Indeed Blair was accused at the time of having taken from Smith too much material for his slender acknowledgment thereof.⁴ We shall never know exactly the contents of these lectures, especially since Dugald Stewart preferred not to publish the list, in his possession, of literary and political opinions and convictions drawn up by Adam Smith in 1755,⁵ but we can scarcely doubt that, like Blair, he included material on the origin and characteristics of primitive languages. This is all the more probable since we know that Smith at one time projected a whole history of "liberal sciences and elegant arts"⁶ from the point of view of their development from primitive origins. Most of his essays toward this end Smith ordered to be destroyed before his death, but one or two remain, such as his

¹ *A Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith*, ed. by James Bonar (London, 1894).

² Stewart, "Life of Adam Smith," *op. cit.*, p. xii.

³ Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 266-67, note.

⁴ John Rae, *Life of Adam Smith* (London and New York, 1895), p. 32.

⁵ Stewart, "Life of Adam Smith," *op. cit.*, p. lxxx.

⁶ Bonar, *Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith*, p. xlii.

History of Astronomy, and his essay (probably intended for the same work) entitled *Of the Nature of that Imitation which takes Place in what are called the Imitative Arts*, both posthumously published. Further we have another confirmation of his early interests in the essay called *Considerations concerning the First Formation of Languages, and the Different Genius of Original and Compounded Languages* which he published with the second edition, 1761, of his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. It is probable that this piece of work was an outgrowth of his studies for his Edinburgh lectures. Dugald Stewart points out that this essay was typical of Smith's interests. It was, writes Stewart,

a specimen of a particular sort of enquiry, which so far as I know, is entirely of modern origin [i.e., conjectural history], and which seems, in a peculiar degree, to have interested Mr. Smith's curiosity. Something very similar to it may be traced in all his different works, whether moral, political, or literary; and on all these subjects he has exemplified it with the happiest success.¹

And he adds that "the same turn of thinking was frequently, in his social hours, applied to more familiar subjects." But the contents of the lectures are not as important as the general subject-matter of the discussions which were prevalent at this period, and which can confidently be said to be the various phases of what Dugald Stewart names theoretical or conjectural history.

Hugh Blair began lecturing on rhetoric and *belles lettres* in 1759. He was very intimately associated with the more important of the Edinburgh literati. Hume was one of his earliest friends,² and also Lord Kames. He was also long and intimately associated with Adam Smith³ and John Home.⁴ All this has a bearing on the problem—which indeed has become scarcely a problem—of whether the discussion of primitive poetry and language in the *Lectures*, which were not published until 1783, was devised to fit the Ossianic poems, or whether Ossian fitted it. We have already sufficiently noted the nature of the informal discussions to which Blair listened. It remains to repeat John Hill's testimony concerning Blair's rather dependent

¹ "Life of Adam Smith," *op. cit.*, p. xlii.

² John Hill, *An Account of the Life and Writings of Hugh Blair* (Philadelphia, 1808), p. 178.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 185–86.

type of mind. Hill, it may be noted, was a friend of Blair and his testimony therefore has weight. He writes:

Dr. Blair's connection with Dr. Adam Smith was early formed, from a similarity in their literary pursuits. The latter, it has been said, set the example of reading lectures upon Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, and was the first, in this country, who ever made the attempt. Upon any subject, to which the mind of Dr. Smith directed itself, it was capable of throwing light. A timid inquirer, which Dr. Blair naturally was, felt the benefit of such a friend, and gladly availed himself of every advantage which his company and conversation could afford.¹

If other testimony were needed we have Blair's own acknowledgment of his use of the ideas of others in his Preface to the *Lectures*.² There seems little doubt that the discussion of the origin of language and poetry was inspired by the general interest in the subject in Edinburgh at this time, that it formed part of the original lectures, and that the few references to Ossian were added later by way of illustrative material.

What bearing has all this on the problem of Macpherson and the genesis of the Ossianic poems? Macpherson showed the first few poems he had translated to John Home in the fall of 1759. It was not until the spring of 1760 that the *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* was published, and *Fingal* did not appear until late in 1761. It is not to be conceived that the complete plan for an epic existed in Macpherson's mind before that first meeting. At Aberdeen, Macpherson could easily have acquired some ideas about primitive poetry, or at least have caught the interest in it. And the possibility of finding an illustration of these primitivistic theories in the poetry of the Highlands, if it had not occurred to Macpherson himself, might have come to him through Jerome Stone's Preface to his translation of "Albin and the Daughter of May," in the *Scots Magazine* for January, 1756, in which Stone calls the original the "production of simple and unassisted genius"—almost Blackwell's very words—and remarks that "your learned readers will easily discover the conformity there is, betwixt the tale upon which it is built, and the story of *Bellerophon*, as related by *Homer*."³ There was plenty of time between his first meeting with John Home and the publication

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-82.

² *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London and Edinburgh, 1783), I, iv.

³ *Scots Magazine*, XVIII, 134.

of the *Fragments*, to say nothing of the longer interval until the publication of *Fingal*, for the whole plan to develop under the influence of the discussion which Macpherson was bound to hear. Home, it will be remembered, passed the poems on to Blair, and these and the published *Fragments* seem to have circulated among the men of the whole group, for Tytler writes that they attracted the attention of "Dr. Blair, Mr. John Home, Dr. Fergusson, Lord Elibank, Sir Adam Fergusson, and others of the Scottish men of letters."¹ It is reasonable to suppose that these men in the very act of pointing out to Macpherson the value of his "discoveries" would amplify on their theories and give him the working basis for a larger undertaking. Blair, in his letter of December 20, 1797, to Mackenzie for the report of the Highland Society of Scotland, writes, "I being as much struck as Mr. Home with the high spirit of poetry which breathed in them, presently made enquiry where Mr. Macpherson was to be found, and having sent for him to come to me, had much conversation with him on the subject."² And he describes further the encouragement that Macpherson received from the other men of the group.

There remains a bit of concrete evidence of another sort that the theories of primitive poetry, instead of being formed on the basis of Ossian, actually preceded Ossian. One of the first reviews of the *Fragments* contains the following observation: "The boldness of the painting, and the strength of the metaphors are not peculiar to this collection alone, but to the incipient efforts of every nation whatsoever in poetry."³

However this may be, it would of course be absurd to deny the influence of Ossian on later criticism. The songs of Ossian undoubtedly colored many of the later treatments of primitive poetry and inspired further research.

II. RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE INFLUENCE OF MONTESQUIEU AND ROUSSEAU ON THE SCOTTISH PRIMITIVISTS

The man who seems to have given the greatest impetus to the study of primitive society and institutions among the Scottish school of primitivists was Montesquieu. Montesquieu's method in *L'Esprit*

¹ Tytler, *op. cit.*, II, 134.

² Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1805), Appendix, p. 57.

³ *The Critical Review*, X, 30.

des Lois, that of tracing the laws of civil society back to their origins in primitive society, became the standard method for many lines of investigation.¹

The influence of Montesquieu is amply attested. In the case of Adam Smith we have the testimony of Dugald Stewart, and it is not necessary to remind the reader of the authority which can safely be attached to the remarks of this contemporary of Smith. I have already quoted what he had to say concerning Smith's predilection for tracing all institutions back to their primitive origins. The tendency in this direction Stewart affirms that Smith got from Montesquieu. In connection with the lectures on moral philosophy, he says: "Upon this subject he followed the plan that seems to be suggested by Montesquieu, endeavoring to trace the gradual progress of jurisprudence, both public and private, from the rudest to the most refined ages."² Again, he writes:

It is but lately that these important subjects have been considered in this point of view; the greater part of politicians before the time of Montesquieu, having contented themselves with the historical statement of facts, and with a vague reference of laws to the wisdom of particular legislators, or to accidental circumstances, which it is now impossible to ascertain. Montesquieu, on the contrary, considered laws as originating chiefly from the circumstances of society; and attempted to account, from the changes in the condition of mankind, which take place in the different stages of their progress, for the corresponding alteration which their institutions undergo.³

And in his *Dissertation exhibiting the progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, since the Revival of Letters in Europe*, Stewart makes the following general statement concerning the influence of Montesquieu, chiefly in the field of jurisprudence:

This view of law, which unites History and Philosophy with Jurisprudence, has been followed out with remarkable success by various authors since Montesquieu's time; and for a considerable number of years after the publication of the *Spirit of Laws*, became so very fashionable (particularly in this country) that many seem to have considered it, not as a step toward a farther end, but as exhausting the whole science of Jurisprudence.⁴

¹ Of some influence also, though less frequently referred to, may have been the *Lettres Persanes*, especially *Lettres XI-XIV* which tell of the Troglodytes. These letters, however, are not thoroughly primitivistic, for "le bonheur d'une condition toujours parée de l'innocence" is shown to be not an inherent or inevitable characteristic of primitive man, but an outcome of the recognition on the part of several of the leaders of the tribe that "l'intérêt des particuliers se trouve toujours dans l'intérêt commun" (*Lettre XII*).

² "Life of Adam Smith," p. xvii.

³ "Life of Adam Smith," p. xliii. See also p. xlii.

⁴ *Collected Works* (Edinburgh, 1854), I, 191.

Kames in his *Sketches*, after arguing against Montesquieu's theory of the modifying influence of climate, adds, "I stop here; for to enter the lists against an antagonist of so great fame, gives me a feeling as if I were treading on forbidden ground."¹ The following is Ferguson's sweeping acknowledgment of his dependence on Montesquieu:

When I recollect what the President Montesquieu has written, I am at a loss to tell, why I should treat of human affairs: but I too am instigated by my reflections, and my sentiments. . . . In his writings will be found, not only the original of what I am now, for the sake of order, to copy from him, but likewise probably the source of many observations, which, in different places, I may, under the belief of invention, have repeated without quoting their author.²

In this connection there is an anecdote reported by Alexander Carlyle which bears further testimony to Smith's use of Montesquieu. Smith had accused Ferguson of borrowing material from him without acknowledging it. Ferguson denied it, but "owned he derived many notions from a French author, and that Smith had been there before him."³

The external ties between the Scottish primitivists and Montesquieu were many and various, not the least curious being the fact that Lord Morton and Lord Elibank ordered their wines from him.⁴ A letter from Lord Morton to Montesquieu further reveals the fact that Montesquieu's son was a member of the Philosophical Society for a while.⁵ Hume corresponded with Montesquieu from time to time. There is one letter from Hume to Montesquieu written in 1749 on the subject of *L'Esprit des Lois*. Unfortunately for our purposes the points that Hume takes up are chiefly historical, but Hume's enthusiastic commendation is interesting: "Vous voyez, Monsieur, avec quel empressement je saisis la première occasion de me faire connaître à un homme dont j'admire le génie et dont j'aime et j'estime l'humanité et la grandeur d'âme."⁶ Hume assisted Montesquieu in the 1750 Edinburgh edition of *L'Esprit des Lois* and there was some correspondence between them in regard to that.⁷ The connecting

¹ *Sketches*, I, 62.

² *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, p. 98. ³ Carlyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-85.

⁴ *Correspondance de Montesquieu* (Paris, 1914), II, 539.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 459 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 169-77.

⁷ Burton, *Life and Letters of Hume*, I, 304, 456-58.

link between Montesquieu and Ferguson was of quite a different sort. According to John Small, in his life of Ferguson,

It was his relation to the family of Joseph Black, which was probably the indirect means of forming Ferguson's own philosophical views. The father of Dr. Black had been a wine merchant at Bourdeaux, and when residing there enjoyed the intimate friendship of the great Montesquieu, who was the president of the parliament or the court of justice of that province. The letters and scraps of correspondence which passed between Montesquieu and Mr. Black, the descendants of the latter preserved as though they had been titles of honor belonging to their race.¹

It is interesting to note that Montesquieu did not lack for admirers even among the Aberdeeners. Among the letters to Montesquieu is one full of hyperbole from Thomas Blackwell. A single sentence will suffice to give an idea of the tone of the whole. "Accept then, Sir, my cordial thanks for the high entertainment and instruction I have reaped from your works and for the important service you have done to the grand interests of the human Race: Liberty, Humanity and Learning."²

As for Rousseau, it has been customary to hold him responsible for much of the interest in the "noble savage" and his simple and wholesome manner of living. The truth of the matter is, however, that, in spite of the fact that Rousseau was in 1766 and 1767 closely connected with the writers on primitivistic theory through his friendship with Hume, his influence during the formative period of these ideas in England was very slight in comparison with the influence of Montesquieu.

In the first place Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* was not published until 1755 and as we have seen, the discussions of problems connected with primitive man were prevalent a decade and more before. Adam Smith, in his *Letter to the Authors of the Edinburgh Review*, would seem to imply that if there were any cross-influence, it was in the opposite direction from that generally assumed by modern critics:

But Mr. Hobbes, Mr. Locke, and Dr. Mandeville, Lord Shaftesbury, Dr. Butler, Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Hutcheson, have all of them, according to

¹ "Biographical Sketch of Adam Ferguson," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1864), XXIII, 663. Ferguson speaks of the relations between Dr. Black and Montesquieu in his "Minutes of the Life and Character of Joseph Black, M.D.," *ibid.*, V (1801), Part II, 102.

² *Correspondance*, II, 372-75.

their different and inconsistent systems, endeavoured at least to be, in some measure, original, and to add something to that stock of observations with which the world had been furnished before them. This branch of the English philosophy which seems now to be entirely neglected by the English themselves, has of late, been transported into France. I observe some traces of it, not only in the *Encyclopédie*, but in the *Theory of agreeable sentiments*, by Mr. de Pouilly, a work that is in many respects original; and above all, in the late *Discourse upon the origin and foundation of the inequality amongst mankind*, by Mr. Rousseau of Geneva.¹

Rousseau's essay Smith attributes directly to the influence of Mandeville:

Whoever reads this last work with attention will observe that the second volume of the *Fable of the Bees* has given occasion to the system of Rousseau. . . . Dr. Mandeville represents the primitive state of mankind as the most wretched and miserable that can be imagined: Mr. Rousseau on the contrary, paints it as the happiest and most suitable to his nature. . . . Both of them however suppose the same slow progress and gradual development of all the talents, habits, and arts which fit men to live together in society and they both describe this progress pretty much in the same manner.²

Many of the contemporary Scottish references to Rousseau not only do not acknowledge any acceptance of his ideas but pass him by as a curious and spectacular, but not very notable thinker. Smith, for example, in the article just cited remarks that "by the help of his style, together with a little philosophical chemistry," he has made "the principles and ideas of the profligate Mandeville seem to have all the purity and simplicity of the morals of Plato, and to be only the true spirit of a republican carried a little too far."³ Further, in his *Essay on the Imitative Arts*, he calls Rousseau, "an author more capable of feeling strongly than of analysing accurately."⁴ Ferguson and Kames both speak disparagingly of some of his ideas.⁵ Monboddo is an outstanding exception. He agrees with Rousseau on many points and acknowledges having read his treatise.⁶

Thus Rousseau, while he may have played a considerable part, after about 1760, in the formulating of romantic ideas about a relatively primitive state of society, can in no way be said to be respon-

¹ *The Edinburgh Review*, II, 72-73.

² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

⁴ *Essays*, p. 165.

⁵ Ferguson, *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, pp. 7-8; Kames, *Sketches*, II, 157, note.

⁶ *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*, I, ix.

sible for the origin of those ideas. Primitivistic theories in England, and in France also, were well under way before he made any notable contribution to the subject,¹ and even when he did contribute to it in his *Essai sur l'origine de l'inégalité*, he did not make as great an impression on English thinkers as has often been supposed.

III. PRIMITIVISTIC THEORIES

1. *Idealization of primitive man.*—The primitivistic attitude toward the epic is really part of the widespread movement in the middle of the eighteenth century toward the idealization of primitive man. Not that this idealization was an entirely new thing. As we shall see in the discussion of sources, it represents an enduring tendency which can be traced as far back as the very beginning of classical literature. But the interest in primitive man became very much more general at this time. He was discussed by the philosophers;² he entered into the theories of government, into the discussion of social problems, and of the origin of law and other civil institutions. Finally, idealized primitive man entered into the discussion of literature and appreciably modified the critical attitude.

I have said "idealized" primitive man, for the idealization was almost a necessary preliminary to the interest in his language and the glorification of his poetry which ensued. The primitivists recognized the martial virtues of primitive man—his courage, animal strength, and stoicism in suffering;³ but perhaps more than these qualities they loved to contemplate a certain simplicity in his nature and freedom from restraint which led to a spontaneous and natural expression of the emotions. Further, because of this simplicity in

¹ See A. O. Lovejoy, "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality*," *Modern Philology*, XXI, 165-86.

² Lack of space prevents my reviewing the growing interest in primitive man among the philosophers from the time of Hobbes to the middle of the eighteenth century. The following are, however, of special importance: Hobbes, *The English Works* (London, 1839), Vol. III, *Leviathan*, Part I, pp. 112 ff.; Locke, *Treatise on Gov.*, II (London, 1698), Secs. VI, XIX, CXI, and *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Book III (remarks on words and the formation of language); Shaftesbury, *Essay on Wit and Humour*, Part III, Sec. II; *Moralists*, Part II, Sec. IV, Part IV, Sec. IV; *Inquiry concerning Virtue and Merit*, Part II, Sec. I; *Miscellany*, IV, chap. II; *Soliloquy or Advice to an Author*, Part II, Secs. I and II; Pope, *Essay on Man*, Ep. III, ll. 148-52 (cf. Warburton's comment in *Works of Alexander Pope*, London, 1757, III, 94); Bolinbroke, *Works* (Philadelphia, 1841), IV, 111, 145, 150, 157, 162, 170, 213, etc., and III, 398-99; Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees* (Edinburgh, 1772), II, 191 ff., 199, 221 ff., 238 ff.

³ See in this connection F. E. Farley, "The Dying Indian," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), pp. 251 ff.

the life of primitive man, they thought that he must be very good and very happy—or, as Monboddo expressed it after reading Keate's account of the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands, he is "a generous, noble minded animal, full of benevolence and kindness to his species."¹ These virtues of simplicity and innocence were accompanied by a "tranquillity and composure of Mind, which is rarely to be found in civilized Man."²

It became the fashion among the writers of the third quarter of the century to mark out certain stages in the development of primitive society. Macpherson defines three stages of which the first, as it is "formed on nature, so, of course it is the most disinterested and noble."³ He implies that the time of Ossian was at the end of the first period. Of this period he says further:

The nobler passions of the mind never shoot forth more free and unrestrained than in these times we call barbarous. That irregular manner of life, and those manly pursuits from which barbarity takes its name, are highly favorable to a strength of mind unknown to polished times.⁴

Blair uses essentially the same division, except that he sees four stages—the stage of the hunter, of pasturage, of agriculture, and of commerce.⁵ He also places Ossian in the first stage. Dunbar, in the *Essay on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages*, finds three stages—the first, practically an animal state before the invention of language, and the second, the state of greatest virtue when man was "a member of that artless community which consists with equality, with freedom, and independence."⁶ Pinkerton, finally, defines three primitive stages: first the savage stage and the period of barbaric poetry, second the pastoral stage, and third the middle state between barbarism and civilization. "The Iliad, if not written during the third, is yet a living picture of its manners: and it is to this, as much as to any other circumstance, that it owes its wonderful superiority."⁷

¹ *Antient Metaphysics, or the Science of Universals* (Edinburgh, 1779-99), IV, 56, note.

² *Ibid.*, III, 201. Cf. Gregory, *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World* (London, 1766), pp. viii-ix.

³ "A Dissertation concerning the Poems of Ossian," in *Ossian* (New York, 1806), II, 158.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 148.

⁵ "A Critical Dissertation of the Poems of Ossian," in *Ossian* (New York, 1806), II, 206-7.

⁶ *Op. cit.* (London, 1780), pp. 2-3.

⁷ *Letters of Literature* (London, 1785), pp. 5-6.

One of the most ecstatic pictures of the primitive poet is that of William Duff:

Happily exempted from that tormenting ambition, and those vexatious desires, which trouble the current of modern life, he wanders with a serene, contented heart, through walks and groves consecrated to the Muses; or, indulging a sublime, pensive, and sweetly-soothing melancholy, strays with a slow and solemn step, through the unfrequented desert, along the naked beach, or the bleak and barren heath. In such a situation, every theme is a source of inspiration, whether he describes the beauties of nature, which he surveys with transport; or the peaceful innocence of those happy times, which are so wonderfully soothing and pleasing to the imagination.

And then, fearing lest he had gone too far in his eulogy to be believed, Duff defends himself with,

Perhaps we may be thought to refine too much on this point; and it may be questioned whether such tranquillity and innocence as we have above supposed have ever existed in any state of society. To this we may answer, That though the traditionary or even historical accounts of the early ages, are not much to be depended on; yet those ancient original poems which we have in our hands, give us reason to think that a certain innocence of manners, accompanied with that tranquillity which is its consequence, prevailed among those people whom we are not ashamed to call barbarous, in a much higher degree than in more modern and cultivated periods.¹

2. *Primitive language and the beginnings of poetry.*—Interest in the language of the savage led on the one hand to a philosophical and philological consideration of the origin and development of language, and on the other hand to an analysis of the language of primitive man as a vehicle for poetic expression. The growing interest in the problems connected with the origin of language, reflected in Adam Smith's *Considerations concerning the first Formation of Languages* (1761), Richard Wynn's *Observations on the Ancient and Modern Languages* (1761), James Harris' *Hermes, or a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Universal Grammar* (1765), James Parson's *Remains of Japhet: being Historical Enquiries into the Affinity and Origin of European Languages* (1767), and Monboddo's *Of the Origin and Progress of Languages* (1773-92), offers a fruitful field for investigation, but it is beyond the scope of the present inquiry, for the significant question here is not how language came into being but what characteristics it was popularly supposed to have among barbarous nations.

¹ *An Essay on Original Genius* (London, 1767), pp. 271-73.

The primitivists seized eagerly on the classical idea that poetry antedated prose. "Poetry is as old as mankind, coeval with the human race," wrote Gildon early in the century.¹ Blackwell discusses the idea and attempts to give a rational explanation of it:

They [the Ancients] thought, it shou'd seem, that *Language* was the first Tamer of Men, and its Origin to have been certain rude accidental Sounds, which that naked Company of scrambling Mortals emitted by Chance. . . . Neither the Syllables, nor the Tone could be ascertained; but when they put several of these *vocal* Marks together, they wou'd seem to sing. . . . And hence came the ancient Opinion, "That Poetry was before Prose."²

The idea of the priority of poetry was repeated with embellishments and explanations by such writers as Mallet in his *Northern Antiquities*,³ Percy in *An Essay on the Ancient Minstrels in England*,⁴ Kames in his *Sketches of the History of Man*,⁵ Ferguson in *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*,⁶ and Pinkerton in his *Dissertation on the Oral Tradition of Poetry*.⁷ Blair expresses himself characteristically on the subject:

It is a great error to imagine, that Poetry and Music are Arts which belong only to polished nations. They have their foundation in the nature of man, and belong to all nations and all ages. . . . In order to explore the rise of Poetry, we must have recourse to the deserts and the wilds; we must go back to the age of hunters and of shepherds; to the highest antiquity; and to the simplest form of manners among mankind.⁸

With this idea of the priority of poetry to prose as a foundation, not only did it seem perfectly plausible to the primitivist that poetical geniuses should thrive in barbarous ages, but, according to their theories, it was practically inevitable. The simple manners which prevailed in such a stage of society were supposed to be "peculiarly favourable to such exertion,"⁹ for they led to sincerity and directness in the expression of emotions. The sentiments and passions of that

¹ *The Laws of Poetry* (London, 1721), p. 14. See also his *Complete Art of Poetry* (London, 1718), p. 47.

² *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, pp. 37-38. Cf. Daniel Webb, *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (London, 1769), p. 83.

³ Edinburgh, 1809, I, 321.

⁴ Edinburgh and London, 1778, I, 222.

⁵ *Reliques* (Philadelphia, 1823), III, 2.

⁶ Edinburgh, 1767, pp. 263-64.

⁷ *Scottish Tragic Ballads* (London, 1781), pp. ix-x.

⁸ *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London and Edinburgh, 1783), II, 313-14.

⁹ Duff, *Essay on Genius*, p. 269.

time were the "dictates of nature, unmixed and undisguised."¹ The poet was fully supplied with the "scenery of heroic action," for "in such times danger is to be encountered with courage, friendship preserved with fidelity and ardent affection. Wrongs are resented with extreme animosity. If a genius be found that is fit to seize the sublime in human character, he will not need the leading of former examples."²

There is something almost pathetic in the enthusiasm of the eighteenth century for the freedom and spontaneity with which the primitive bard was supposed to give expression to his feelings. His poetry is described by the primitivists as "impetuous."³ It is the "effusion of a glowing fancy and an impassioned heart,"⁴ or the "effusion of fancy actuated by the passions."⁵ It has always the "same enthusiasm and fire, the same wild and irregular, but animated Composition, concise and glowing Style."⁶ It comprised "the whole burst of the human mind; the whole exertion of its imaginative faculties. It spoke the language of passion."⁷ The poet was "lost in tempestuous passions, which call forth extraordinary exertions of the mind. Such exertions form the very life and soul of poetry."⁸ The poetry therefore was "warm, rapid, and tempestuous."⁸ But it was more than that: it was spontaneous. "The early Bard arose and sung," remarks Blair epigrammatically. "He sung indeed in wild and disorderly strains; but they were the native effusions of his heart."⁹

Besides being spontaneous, direct, and sincere, primitive poetry is described, on its rhetorical side, as being unusually figurative in style. This quality of style was attributed partly to the heightened emotional and imaginative forces, that we have just discussed, and partly to the limitations of the primitive vocabulary.¹⁰ Blackwell had discussed this second cause in his *Enquiry*:

But . . . it is certain, that the *primitive Parts* of the Languages reputed *Original*, are many of them rough, undeclined, impersonal Monosyllables;

¹ Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

² Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (Edinburgh, 1792), I, 292.

³ Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 322.

⁶ Pinkerton, *Oral Trad.*, p. x.

⁷ Pinkerton, *Letters of Literature*, p. 4.

⁸ Blair, *Lectures*, II, 318.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 322-23.

¹⁰ Blair, *Critical Dissertation* (New York, 1810), I, 88.

expressive commonly of the *highest Passions*, and most *striking Objects* that present themselves in *solitary savage Life*. From this Deduction, it is plain that any Language, formed as above described, must be full of Metaphor; and that Metaphor of the boldest, daring and most natural kind.¹

He is followed in his reasonings by Blair:

Men never have used so many figures of style, as in those rude ages, when, besides the power of a warm imagination to suggest lively images, the want of proper and precise terms for the ideas they would express, obliged them to have recourse to circumlocution, metaphor, comparison, and all those substituted forms of expression, which give a poetical air to language.²

All the primitivists agree on the metaphorical quality of early poetry. Blair observes that it had formerly been customary to associate this type of style with oriental literature, "whereas, from the American style, and from many other instances, it plainly appears now to have been common to all nations, in certain periods of Society and Language."³ Thomas Warton makes the same observation in his discussion of runic odes. He describes their "fantastic imagery" and their "sublime and figurative cast of diction," and goes on to remark that this is the characteristic not of "Asiaticism" alone but of all early poetry: "A propensity to this mode of expression is necessarily occasioned by the poverty of their language."⁴

3. *The primitive bard as historian: rise of the epic*.—Some of the primitivists saw the origin of poetry in the praise of the deity, others in the song, music, and dance of the festival of victory where the heroic deeds of the tribal ancestors were recited. Still others defined a progression from religious poetry to that of victory and heroism. It is of course the latter type of poetry which more nearly concerns us.

Of all the primitivists, Brown traces most elaborately the development of poetry from the combination of music, song, and dance at the festival, in his *Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions of Poetry and Music*, 1763, but Adam Smith has an interesting conjectural account of the origin

¹ *Op. cit.* (1735 ed.), pp. 40–41.

² *Crit. Diss.*, I, 88. See also *Lectures*, I, 112–13, and Ferguson, *Essay*, pp. 266–67.

³ *Lectures*, I, 114–15.

⁴ "Of the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe," *History of English Poetry* (London, 1824), I, xxx–xxxI.

of poetry which may possibly be somewhat earlier.¹ The latter connects it with the union of music and dancing wherein the human voice furnished the first music:

In singing, or in its first attempts towards singing, it would naturally employ words of some kind or other, pronouncing them only in time and measure, and generally with a more melodious tone than had been usual in common conversation. Those words, however, might not, and probably would not, for a long time have any meaning, but might resemble the syllables which we make use of in *sol-fa'ing*, or the *derry-down-down* of our common ballads; and serve only to assist the voice in forming sounds proper to be modulated into melody, and to be lengthened or shortened according to the time and measure of the tune. This rude form of vocal Music, as it is by far the most simple and obvious, so it naturally would be the first and earliest.

In the succession of ages it could not fail to occur, that in the room of those unmeaning or musical words, if I may call them so, might be substituted words which expressed some sense or meaning, and of which the pronunciation might coincide as exactly with the time and measure of the tune, as that of the musical words had done before. Hence the origin of Verse or poetry. The Verse would for a long time be rude and imperfect.²

Brown does not go farther than this in his analysis of the actual composition of the first lines of poetry, but he analyzes more elaborately the primitive passions which find expression in "Action, Voice, and articulate Sounds," traces the development farther, and gives more illustrative material. For proof of the fact that these three arts are constantly united in primitive tribes, Brown says:

We may appeal to most of the Travellers who describe the Scenes of uncultivated Nature: All these agree in telling us, that *Melody, Dance, and Song*, make up the ruling Pastime, adorn the Feasts, compose the Religion, fix the Manners, strengthen the Policy, and even form the future Paradise of savage Man.³

From the whole company of singers and dancers at the feast, the bard gradually emerged. He is variously described and defined by the primitivists, but most of them agree that his chief duty for a considerable period in the development of society was to preserve the chronicle of heroic deeds.

¹ *Of the Nature of that Imitation which takes place in what are called the Imitative Arts*, posthumously published in 1795 but possibly written as early as 1748-50. See Bonar, *Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith*, p. xiii.

² *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (London, 1795), pp. 149-50.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 21. Cf. Blair, *Lectures*, II, 314.

Blackwell had pictured the bards as strolling singers, "a Set of Men who distinguished themselves by *Harmony and Verse*."¹ Brown, however, thinks that the earliest bards were more than this. The office of chief or legislator, according to him, would be identical with that of bard: "for we find, that, among the savage Tribes, the *Chiefs* are they who most signalize themselves by *Dance and Song*; and that their *Songs* rowl principally on the *great Actions and Events* which concern their *own Nation*."² The offices of bard and legislator in the later stages were separated, but the bard was still retained as "assistant to the *Magistrate* in the high Task of governing the People."³ However this may be, it is certain that according to most primitivists the bard was an historian. Bolingbroke pointed out this fact in his *Letters on the Study and Use of History*:

To go no farther back, the triumphs of Odin were celebrated in runic songs, and the feats of our British ancestors were recorded in those of their bards. The savages of America have the same custom at this day; and long historical ballads of their huntings and their wars are sung at all their festivals.⁴

Toland divides the Celtic bards into three classes, the chronologers, the heralds, and the comic or satiric poets.⁵ Kames writes that "Bards were capital persons at every festival and at every solemnity. Their songs, which, by recording the achievements of kings and heroes, animated every hearer, must have been the entertainment of every warlike nation."⁶ Blair speaks of the "celebration of famed ancestors, the recital of martial deeds, songs of victory, and songs of lamentation."⁷ Percy, drawing on Mallet, speaks of the Scalds as uniting the characters of "historian, genealogist, poet, and musician."⁸ Finally, both Brown and Pinkerton survey the primitive poets of many countries and show that they all held the office of historian.⁹

¹ *Enquiry* (1735), p. 104.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 77. Gregory repeats this idea (*Comparative View*, p. 119) in almost the same words as those used by Brown.

⁴ *Works* (Philadelphia, 1841), II, 176.

⁵ John Toland, "A Specimen of the Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning," in *A Collection of Several Pieces* (London, 1726), I, 25. See also Evan Evans, *De Bardis Dissertatio* (London, 1764). For other eighteenth-century references to the Celtic bard, see John Sinclair's "Dissertation on the Authenticity of Ossian's Poems," in *The Poems of Ossian*, published by the Highland Society of London (London, 1807), I, xvii-xxiii.

⁶ *Sketches*, I, 224-25.

⁷ *Lectures*, II, 318. See also *Crit. Diss.* (1810), I, 101-3.

⁸ "On the Ancient Minstrels," *Reliques* (London, 1847), I, xxix. Mallet, *op. cit.*, I, 321 ff.

⁹ Brown, *op. cit.*, Secs. V-XI, and Pinkerton, *Oral Trad.*, pp. x-xvii.

It was but a step from the recognition of the rôle of the bard as historian to the assumption that the bard was the first composer of epic poetry. In regard to this opinion Blackwell, as early as 1735, had created a considerable impression on the later primitivists by emphasizing the classical tradition that Homer, himself, was a strolling bard.¹ Brown, tracing the steps in the development of poetry, describes the rise of the epic thus:

The *Epic Poem* would naturally arise, and be sung by its Composers at their public Solemnities. For it appears above, that their earliest Histories would be written in Verse, and make a Part of their public Song Feasts. Now the *Epic Poem* is but a Kind of *fabulous History*, rowling chiefly on the great Actions of ancient Gods and Heroes, and artificially composed under certain limitations with Respect to its *Manner*, for the Ends of Pleasure, Admiration, and Instruction.²

Similarly Harris, in his *Philological Studies*, writes: "It appears, that not only in Greece, but in other countries, more barbarous, the first writings were in metre, and of an epic cast, recording wars, battles, heroes, ghosts; the marvellous always, and after the incredible."³ Percy not only indorses the idea that epic poetry might be a product of the early bard, but he reinforces the theory with an example (one which we should scarcely call a primitive poem: *Libius Disconius*) to show:

Nature and common sense had supplied to these old simple bards the want of critical art, and taught them some of the most essential rules of Epic Poetry. . . . If an Epic Poem may be defined as "A fable related by a poet, to excite admiration, and inspire virtue, by representing the action of some one hero, favoured by heaven, who executes a great design, in spite of all the obstacles that oppose him": I know not why we should withhold the name of Epic Poem from the piece which I am about to analyse.⁴

4. *Homer and Ossian as primitive poets.*—Having developed their theories to the point where they believed that real epic poetry could be a product of the early bard, the primitivists found their most impressive and convenient illustrations in the poems of Homer and Ossian. Duff writes:

While the works of Homer and Ossian however are in our hands, these, without any other examples, will be sufficient to establish the truth of the first part of our assertion, that in the early periods of society, original Poetic Genius will in general be exerted in its utmost vigour.⁵

¹ *Enquiry* (1735), pp. 107 ff.

⁴ *Ant. Met. Romances*, III, 20.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵ *Essay on Genius*, p. 286.

³ *Works* (Oxford, 1841), p. 400.

Homer and Ossian, as he implies, are his two prime examples of original genius in poetry and he illustrates their originality categorically under the heads of invention of incidents, character, "vivid and picturesque description," and "irregular greatness, wildness, and enthusiasm of imagination."¹

Brown finds in Ossian a "noble Confirmation" of his ideas about primitive poetry. The songs, according to him, must have been composed during the second stage in the development of poetry and music "when the Bard's profession had separated from that of the legislator."² He dilates on the proofs of antiquity: "Such are the grand Simplicity of Imagery and Diction, the strong Draughts of rude Manners and uncultivated Scenes of Nature, which abound in all these Poems; Pictures which no civilized modern could imbibe in their Strength."³

But Blair is most ingenious in finding in Ossian an illustration of his primitivistic theories and he makes an elaborate comparison between the poems of Ossian and Homer, for "Homer is of all the great poets, the one whose manner, and whose time come the nearest to Ossian's,"⁴ and "Homer knew no more of the laws of criticism than Ossian."⁵ His comparison, interestingly enough, is by no means to the disparagement of Ossian, nor was that of John Gordon in his *Occasional Thoughts on the Study and Character of Classical Authors* (London, 1762). The reviewer of this book tells us that Gordon "very justly represents Ossian as a poet who exactly copied nature in his descriptions, in which particular he gives him the preference to Homer."⁶ A dramatic reversal! Whereas Homer was scorned in the Restoration period for not being as polished as Virgil, he is now blamed for not being as truly primitive as Ossian.

It is scarcely necessary, however, to cite passages in which the poems of Ossian have been found to give a "noble confirmation" of primitivistic theories, for it is not surprising that a work which must have been at least partly instigated by those theories should afford an illustration of them. The attitude toward Homer seems somewhat more surprising at first sight but follows almost as inevitably. Begin-

¹ *Critical Observations on the Writings of the Most Celebrated Original Geniuses in Poetry* (London, 1770), pp. 4 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵ *Critical Review*, XIV. 44.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 127-28

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

ning with Blackwell, there is a growing tendency to push back toward barbarism the stage of society in which Homer lived, until Homer himself became in some cases little more than a glorified barbarian.

Even before Blackwell, Addison, although his general attitude toward Homer and the epic is that of the Aristotelian formalists, has a passage which points in this direction:

Many of these great natural geniuses that were never disciplined and broken by rules of art, are to be found among the ancients, and in particular among those of the more eastern parts of the world. Homer has innumerable flights that Virgil was not able to reach, and in the old Testament we find several passages more elevated and sublime than any in Homer.¹

But after Blackwell, with the elaboration of primitivistic theories, the idea gathered force. Joseph Warton, in *Adventurer*, No. 80, mentions as one of the strong appeals of the Odyssey the picture that it affords of the life of the heroic ages—"the primeval, I was about to say, patriarchal simplicity of manners."² Hurd speaks of Homer as writing "in the *simple ages of learning*, when, as yet, composition was not turned into an *art*, but every writer, especially of vehement and impetuous genius, is contented to put down his *first thoughts*"³—this in his notes to Horace's *Epistola ad Augustum*, 1751. In his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, 1762, he discusses at length the "heroic age" in which Homer wrote, but he compares that age, not with very primitive states of society as other writers were doing, but with the age of chivalry. Just how primitive he considered the age of chivalry to be is another, and an interesting, question.

Turning to some of the Scottish writers we find Homer classed with the primitive poets, used to illustrate the style of primitive poetry, and eulogized as a great original genius. Ferguson, for example, after the customary praise of the early poet who "delivers the emotions of the heart, in words suggested by the heart," concludes:

And hence it is, that while we admire the judgement and invention of Virgil, and of other later poets, these terms appear misapplied to Homer. Though intelligent, as well as sublime, in his conceptions, we cannot anticipate the lights of his understanding, nor the movements of his heart: he appears to speak from inspiration, not from invention; and to be guided in the choice of his thought and expressions by a supernatural instinct, not by reflection.⁴

¹ *Spectator*, No. 160 (New York, 1897), II, 283.

² *Works* (London, 1811), I, 369.

³ *British Essayists*, XX, 257-58.

⁴ *Essay*, pp. 265-66.

The reader who turns to Homer, according to Blair, "must reckon upon finding characters and manners, that retain a considerable tincture of the savage state; moral ideas, as yet imperfectly formed; and the appetites and passions of men brought under none of those restraints, to which in a more advanced state of Society, they are accustomed."¹ Duff speaks of Homer as living among a people, "as yet but little civilized," and as having no model "except that of nature, which lay open to his view."² Gerard makes the same points. Homer "lived in times of ignorance, when poetry remained almost in its first rudeness," but "he notwithstanding, merely by the force of his own abilities, brought the noblest species of poetry all at once to its just perfection."³ Monboddo places Homer in the next generation after the men of the heroic age, "that is, an Age of Men of extraordinary size and strength of Body as well as of Mind."⁴ According to Kames, "Homer lived in a rude age, little advance in useful arts, and still less in civilization and enlarged benevolence. The nations engaged in the Trojan War are described by him as in a progress from the shepherd state to that of agriculture."⁵

I have put these more or less incidental remarks about Homer together, although some of them were published somewhat after the first edition of Wood's *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (1769), which is the most formal study of the subject in this period. Wood's *Essay* is an interesting successor to Blackwell's *Enquiry*. Blackwell had set himself the task of explaining Homer as a phenomenon. Wood denies that Homer is as much of a phenomenon as critics have made him. They have read into his works learning and moral purposes that are not there. To Wood, Homer is simply an early poet living in a primitive state of society.

As for the period in which Homer wrote in relation to the time of the events he describes, Wood writes,

We may suppose, that he was born not long after the siege of Troy: and had finished both his poems about half a century after the town was taken. That, as the first interesting stories he heard, were, when a boy, of the exploits performed there; so in his riper years he had still an opportunity of conversing with the old men, who had been engaged in it; that their

¹ *Lectures*, II, 428-29.

² *Original Genius*, p. 3.

³ *Of Genius* (London, 1774), pp. 10-11.

⁴ *Ant. Met.*, III, 106.

⁵ *Sketches*, I, 276.

immediate descendants were his contemporaries: that he knew their grandchildren; and saw the birth of their great-grandchildren; which made the fourth generation from Aeneas.¹

Wood has the characteristic primitivistic attitude. It does not puzzle him to explain how poetry in those rude times could have acquired "a greater degree of perfection than it has ever since attained." It was that very state of society which "produced that noble simplicity of language unknown to polished ages," and,

Though the venerable beauties of that antiquated style must, in some degree, strike every reader; yet we cannot do it justice without looking back to the times it describes; it is only from a knowledge of those early times, that we improve a relish of its beauties, and find an apology for its faults.²

For a parallel to and a confirmation of the primitive manners described by Homer and Ossian, other writers had been content to turn to the accounts of the travelers, but Wood draws on his own experience as a traveler. He parallels elaborately Homeric society with the society of the interior of Arabia, which offers "a perpetual and inexhaustible store of the aboriginal modes and customs of primeval life."³ It is unnecessary to go into the details of the comparison. The point of view and the method are the significant things.

Wood defeats one by one the old critical tenets which had been an inheritance from Renaissance criticism. It had been the opinion of former critics that Homer wrote with a conscious moral purpose. On this score Wood writes: "Nor can I help thinking (without offence to the father of criticism) that the Greek Poet found great part of his moral in his fable; and did not, like Virgil, invent a fable for his moral."⁴ In the next place, Homer's works had been supposed to conceal allegorically a great deal of wisdom and learning—"those secrets of Nature, and that physical philosophy, which he is supposed to have wrapt up in allegory," as Wood expresses it. "I could wish," writes Wood, "that those, who think so highly of the mysterious wisdom of the ancients, and take so much pains to explain their dark mode of conveying profound knowledge would tell us, by what method they acquired it."⁵ It had been customary to attribute much of Homer's learning to the teaching of Egypt, but

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 134 (London, 1824).

² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

Wood attempts to prove that "Egypt, though civilized, when Greece was in a state of barbarity, never got beyond mediocrity, either in the arts of peace or war."¹ "Though the persons, and perhaps some of the action, of his fable, might have been originally taken from Egypt and the East: yet we know that his figures, I may say portraits, are his own; and the scenery of his Mythology is Grecian."² Wood surveys the learning of the Homeric age³ to show not only that it was in a primitive condition but that Homer's picture is a genuine reflection of his time, and he remarks pointedly that "as he painted what he saw with so much truth, I fancy, we are too apt to think he knew much more than he painted."⁴

As for the conventional attitude of the critics toward Homer's language and style, Wood remarks:

Professed scholars and critics in the Greek tongue, confine their observations principally to its state of perfection, without considering how long Homer lived before that period. They complimented him for having enriched his language with the different dialects of Greece; though the distinction of dialects can be only known to a cultivated, and in some degree, settled state of language, as deviations from an acknowledged standard. . . . They point out his poetical licenses; forgetting that, in his time, there were no composition in prose. . . . They settle his pronunciation by an alphabet which he did not know, and by characters he never saw.⁵

But Wood's chief contribution to the Homeric scholarship of his day is his statement that writing was not known in the age of Homer. The idea that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had been originally composed in the form of short "ballads" which were collected several generations later and cast into their present form had a foundation in classical tradition and was frequently repeated at this time, but in the references to this idea there was usually the implication that the ballads were written. Thus the Preface to the *Collection of Old Ballads*, 1723, containing this statement: "The very Prince of Poets, old Homer, if we may trust ancient Records, was nothing more than a blind Ballad-singer, who writ Songs of the Siege of Troy, and the Adventures of Ulysses; and playing the Tunes upon his Harp, sung 'em from Door to Door."⁶ And in *The World*, No. 149, we read,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 161 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46.

⁶ *A Collection of Old Ballads . . . with Introductions Historical, Critical, or Humorous* (London, 1723), I, iii.

"With regard to the antiquity of this profession, in all probability, we owe the invention of it to old Homer himself, who hawked his *Iliad* about the streets for an *obolus* a book."¹ It was not until after the publication of Wood's *Essay* that Pinkerton, in this same connection, maintained that these "ballads" were preserved by oral tradition: "Nor were his [Homer's] poems rescued from the uncertain fame of tradition, and committed to writing till some time after his death."²

Among the French critics before Wood, Goguet³ in a book entitled *De l'Origine des lois, des arts, et des sciences*, 1758, had come almost to the point of saying that writing was not known in the Homeric age and gives all the reasons for such an opinion, but he is not quite willing to take the final step. He points out that Homer refers to no correspondence, or order given in writing, except the letter of Bellerophon, and that even in that case Homer may have been referring to hieroglyphics, but—"Nevertheless I have thought I ought to follow the common manner of interpreting this passage."⁴

Wood is very positive in the matter. He points out that while poetry is known to reach a high stage of perfection among primitive people, writing is an art that could only develop in a state of society capable of "much deep thought and reflection." He gives the same internal proof from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* that Goguet had offered, and adds further:

Perhaps we cannot give a better account of the policy of obliging the youths to get by heart Homer's Catalogue, and ordering his works to be publicly recited at the Panathenaeon ceremonies, than by considering them as regulations relative to a state of society ignorant of writing, or at least unprovided with the materials necessary to reap the benefit of the invention, which were extremely scarce even for ages after that time. If this reasoning be admitted to have any weight, it will allow us to fix the common familiar use of an alphabet in Greece, and prose writing, to pretty much the same period, viz., about five hundred and fifty-four years before Christ.⁵

¹ *British Essayists*, XXIV, 69. See also Wakefield, *Warbling Muses* (1749), p. xi.

² *Oral Trad.*, p. xii.

³ For French writers who had treated this question before Goguet, see G. Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), p. 211.

⁴ *The Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences* (Edinburgh, 1761), II, 236.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 156-57.

It remained for a German scholar at the end of the century to take the final step and abolish Homer himself.

IV. SOME SOURCES OF PRIMITIVISTIC IDEAS

The two main sources of eighteenth-century theories about primitive man seem to have been classical literature and learning, inexplicable as such a source may appear on the surface, and the books of travel which were greatly multiplying in number during the eighteenth century. To these two chief influences ought to be added that of contemporary French thought. The interrelations of French and English critical ideas in this field, however, offer an intricate and interesting subject which I shall reserve for a later article.

There are many questions involved in the widespread interest in the natural history of man which was engaging the best thinkers of the middle of the century. Was dissatisfaction with political and social conditions the principal motive force which prompted a study of the beginnings of society and government? Or was the wider acquaintance with primitive society which was brought about by the travelers the occasion for the dissatisfaction with civil society of the eighteenth century? Or was the explanation simply a scientific curiosity and a wholesale enthusiasm for the historic method? These questions offer abundant opportunity for speculation—and not unprofitable speculation—but I shall be obliged to confine myself to a discussion of the more tangible phases of the problem, and offer such testimony as is afforded by the primitivists themselves as to their actual sources.

One point comes out clearly, and that is that the interest in and idealization of primitive man is perennial—emphasized more, it is true, in some periods than others, but persistently reappearing. It is perhaps especially characteristic of, but by no means confined to, certain parts of the classic ages, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, beginning with the era of discoveries, and culminating in the great eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century collections. The eighteenth century had all the resources of the preceding centuries to draw on. That it made full use of both classical authority and the authority of the travelers from the earliest of them to the latest, there is abundant proof and acknowledgment in the

treatises of the primitivists. The statements of classical writers are constantly substantiated by those of the travelers, and vice versa. Some of the primitivists lean more to the one source than the other, but in general the use of both is almost equally common.

Toland draws chiefly on the classics. In his account of the Druids he mentions as authorities, "Cesar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Ammianus Marcellinus," who had written on the subject "more especially than others"¹ but his "others" would make up a long and interesting list; and later in the same work he writes, "'Tis certain that the more antient Greek writers, such as Hecateus, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Posidonius (not to speak of Dicearchus and others) knew a great deal of truth concerning the British Ilands."² But even Toland illustrates statements of Artemidorus, as quoted by Strabo, by passages from Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*,³ and what is more interesting yet he attempts to identify the Hyperboreans, the half-mythical tribe of the north so much idealized by the Greeks, with the inhabitants of the Hebrides, pointing out similar noble traits in some of the contemporary inhabitants of the more remote islands.⁴

Blackwell's sources like those of Toland are almost entirely classical but his remark about the language of the Turks, Arabs, and Indians⁵ suggests some interest in more recent investigations of travelers. Robert Wood, again, might be expected to derive most of his material from the classics, and he does lean heavily on that source, but we have already seen that he also drew on his own travel experiences in Arabia, and he uses, moreover, for illustrative purposes the Hottentots, the Cherokees, and the Mexicans.⁶

Other writers divide their allegiance more equally between the two sources. Monboddo, for instance, commenting on his methods, remarks:

As the first Stage of the Progression of Man is not the subject of what is commonly called *History*, I have been at great pains to collect Facts concerning the state from Travellers both dead and living, and to compare them with the Facts related by ancient Authors; and I find such a wonderful conformity

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 8.

² *Op. cit.*, I, 138.

³ *Enquiry* (1735), p. 43.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 135.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, I, 154 ff.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 97, and p. 153.

betwixt them, as I have observed in many instances, that I have as little doubt of that part of the History of Man, as of any period of his civil History.¹

Constantly he compares recently discovered nations with ancient tribes and mentions in the same list such people as the inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands and Antony Van Diemen's Land, and the inhabitants of Latium and ancient Ethiopia.² Examples of his method are too numerous to list. Similarly Dunbar prefaces a remark by the words, "In some rude countries, according to the information of modern travellers, rendered credible by several passages of antiquity."³ Pinkerton refers impartially to Herodotus, Diodorus, Aelianus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Tacitus, Saxo Grammaticus, Josephus Magnus, Torfaeus, Dr. Percy, Huet, Leo Africanus, Sir John Chardin, Lhancarvan, Macpherson, and Martin.⁴ In like fashion Brown draws on numerous sources, quoting at length from Lafitau's *Mœurs des Sauvages*. Finally the catalogue of the library of Adam Smith contains the titles not only of all the standard classical works, but of over thirty travel books and collections of voyages.

An investigation of Smith's catalogue and of the works referred to by the primitivists, chiefly in footnote references, has resulted in a list of no less than eighty-five travel books. This list includes such large collections as Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, eighteenth-century English collections by Churchill, Callander, Harris, Osborne, and Tott, and the French collections of Bergeron, Bernard, De le Brosse, Renneville, and Thevenot.

There seems to have been a great increase both in the amount of traveling done and in the number of travel books published in the eighteenth century. It was the time of voyages around the world. The collections of Harris, Pinkerton, and Kerr are augmented by the accounts of circumnavigations by Cowley, Dampier, John Cooke, Woodes Rogers, John Clipperton, George Shelvocke, Roggewein, Francis Pelsart, Abel Tasman, Anson, Byron, and James Cook. As Ferguson remarks, "Late discoveries have brought us to the knowledge of almost every situation in which mankind are placed,"⁵ and Martin complains in the Preface to his *Description of the Western*

¹ *Ant. Met.*, III, II-III.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 5 ff.

⁴ *Oral Trad.*, pp. xi-xvii.

⁵ *Civil Society*, p. 31.

Islands of Scotland that "the modern itch after the knowledge of foreign places is so prevalent, that the generality of mankind bestow little thought or time upon the place of their nativity."¹

The travelers in the latter seventeenth and in the eighteenth century were generously prolific on their return and collectors and publishers were diligent. It was the time par excellence of great collections. In the early nineteenth century came the enormous collection by Pinkerton, and surely it is not mere coincidence that one of the primitivists was himself a collector of voyages, any more than it was a coincidence that Wood was both critic and traveler.

Besides the travel books themselves the primitivists consulted such works as Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*, especially the section on "Variétés dans l'Espèce Humaine," which was in itself a kind of collection of voyages and curious bits of information about the human species. They referred also to Bruzen de la Martinière's *Le Grand Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique, et Critique*, and to *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*. They consulted such standard treatises as Camden's *Britannia*, Giraldus Cambrensis' *Topographia*, Olaus Wormius' *Danica Literatura Antiquissima*, Bartholinus' *De Contemptu Mortis*, Hickes's *Thesaurus*, and Torfaeus' *Orcades*.

Although in the classics, as in the travel books, primitive man is pictured at times as savage and brutal, a strain of idealization of primitive peoples was current in classical literature from the very beginning. It had from the earliest stages two distinct, though more or less related, aspects: (1) the idealization of the first races of men in the accounts of the four ages of the world and the doctrine of progressive degeneration from the Golden to the Iron Age, and (2) the idealization of contemporary peoples who inhabited the countries most remote from civilization. With Hesiod the Golden Age idea is first given literary expression, and in Homer traces of the idealization of remote peoples are found.

Especially are the two phases of this idealization related in the later stages of the Golden Age tradition when it took on a more

¹ Pinkerton, *A General Collection of . . . Voyages* (London, 1808-14), III, 572.

ethical coloring under the influence of the Stoics. The idea, expressed in the doctrine of the four ages, that the progressive degeneration of mankind was the outcome of the advance in the arts of civilization, carried with it as an inevitable corollary the glorification of those men who lived either in the ages preceding civilization, or, at the present time, in those countries so far removed from civilization as to be uncontaminated by it. It is this later phase of the theory, and especially its corollary, that is most important in connection with the doctrines of the primitivists, although there is some evidence that even the manifest fictions concerning the Golden Age were taken by them as historical facts.¹

The whole subject of the Golden Age tradition, however, its modifications by the Stoics, and the idealization of such remote peoples as the ancient Ethiopians, the Seres, the Scythians, the Hyperboreans, and later the Germans, has been so frequently discussed² that I shall pass directly on to the less explored field of travel literature.

The two phases of idealization present in classical literature continued in later ages. In one sense they grew farther and farther apart; but in another, they became curiously interlinked. The poetical conception of the Golden Age lived on, variously modified, in some of the more imaginative literature—chiefly in pastoral and mythological poetry, drama, and fiction³—traveling ever away from the groundwork of theory and yet having always as its moving force this tendency toward idealization. At the same time the old ideas of the state of society in the Golden Age were being brought into play in

¹ Locke, *Treatise of Government*, II, 111; and Monboddo, *Ant. Met.*, III, 202.

² For the Golden Age tradition, see E. Graf, "Ad Aureae Aetatis Fabulam Symbola," *Leips. Stud. s. Class. Philol.*, VIII, 1-85; E. Rohde, *Psyche* (Leipzig, 1903), I, 106 ff.; Eichhoff, "Über die Sagen und Vorstellungen von einem glückseligen Zustande der Menschheit," *Neue Jahrbuch. f. Philol.*, CXX, 581 ff.; L. Campbell, *Introduction to Plato's "Politicus"* (Oxford, 1867), pp. xxviii-xli; K. F. Smith, "Ages of the World (Greek and Roman)," *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 192 ff.; A. Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa* (Berlin, 1892), pp. 286-88, 453, etc. For the idealization of the often half-fabulous tribes living at the four extremities of the known world, see A. Riese, *Die Idealisirung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Prog. Frank. am M., 1875; E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (3d ed., Leipzig, 1914), pp. 210 ff.; Dieterich, *Nekyia* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 35 ff.; O. Crusius in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lex. der Griech. und Röm. Myth.*, 13, 2806-41; and M. Schanz, *Geschichte der Röm. Lit.* (München, 1913), II², 307.

³ There is a partial treatment of this phase in H. A. Burd, "Golden Age Idea in Eighteenth Century Poetry," *Sewanee Review*, April, 1915.

connection with the newly discovered savage tribes. Friendly and peaceable natives were promptly explained in the light of the Golden Age tradition and given all the attributes of the first dwellers on the earth—this not only by the first travelers but even by eighteenth-century writers. They were described as faithful, loving, and just, hospitable to strangers, generous minded. They were free from greed and envy and all civil dissension, because property was shared in common and there was yet no distinction between mine and thine. They were still untainted by civilization.

As I have said, this point of view is to be found in the travel books both early and late. In Richard Eden's translation of the *Decades of Peter Martyr* occur such passages as these in regard to the natives of various countries:

For it is certayne, that amonge them, the lande is as common as the sonne and water: And that Myne and Thyne (the seedes of all myscheefe) haue no place with them. . . . Soo that (as wee haue sayde before) they seeme to lyue in the goulden worlde, without toyle, lyuinge in open gardens, not intrenched with dykes, dyvyded with hedges, or defended with waules. They deale trewely one with another, without lawes, without bookes, and without Iudges.¹

So that if we shall not be ashamed to confesse the truthe, they seeme to lyue in that goulden worlde of the which owlde wryters speake so much: wherin men lyued simplye and innocentlye without inforcement of lawes, without quarrellinge Iudges and libelles, contente onely to satisfie nature, without further vexation for knowlege of thinges to come.²

They lyue without any certaine dwellynge places, and withowt tyllage or culturyng of the grounde, as wee reade of them which in oulde tyme lyued in the golden age.³

This idea was repeated and elaborated by Montaigne in his essays, especially in the thirtieth chapter of the first book and the sixth chapter of the third.⁴

Amadas and Barlow brought back a glowing account of the Virginians: "We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of

¹ Reprinted by Arber in *The First Three English Books on America* (Edinburgh, 1885), Decade I, Book III, p. 78.

² I, II, 70-71.

³ III, VIII, 173.

⁴ For a discussion of sixteenth-century French travel books and treatises on the savage, see Gilbert Chinard, *L'exotisme Americain dans la littérature française au XVI^e siècle d'après Rabelais, Ronsard, Montaigne, etc.* (Paris, 1911).

the Golden Age."¹ Purchas speaks of the ideal social relationships of primitive man and regrets that he could not always have remained in his first integrity for in that case "Meum and Tuum had never proved such quarrelling Pronounes, to make warre more than Grammatical."² Lahontan has considerable to say about this same sharing of property and natural feeling of equality among "these truly Natural Philosophers." "The Savages," he writes, "are utter Strangers to distinctions of Property, for what belongs to one is equally another's."³ The following passage from Lahontan reads almost like Rousseau:

Besides, they value themselves above anything that you can imagine, and this is the reason they always give for 't, *That one's as much Master as another, and since Men are all made of the same Clay there should be no Distinction or Superiority among them.* They pretend that their contented way of living far surpasses our Riches; That all our Sciences are not so valuable as the Art of leading a peaceful calm Life.⁴

Lescarbot, writing in 1609, speaks of the Indian as illustrating the Aristotelian mean in the virtues of fortitude and courage, temperance, liberality, and justice. His remarks about their justice are interesting in the light of classical tradition: "As to justice, they have no law, either divine or human, but that which nature teaches them, that one must not offend another. . . . Herein they enjoy the felicity of the first age, when the fair Astraea lived among man."⁵ Finally, to give a later example I quote a passage from Martin's *Voyage to St. Kilda* (1698):

The inhabitants of St. Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, being almost the only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty: what the condition of the people in the golden age is feigned by the poets to be, that theirs really is, I mean, in innocence and simplicity, purity, mutual love and cordial friendship, free from solicitous cares and anxious covetousness; from envy, deceit, and dissimulation; from ambition and pride, and the consequences that attend them. . . . There is this only wanting to make them the happiest people of this habitable globe,

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), VIII, 305.

² Hakluytus *Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905-7), I, 44.

³ *New Voyages to North America*. Reprinted from the English edition of 1703 (Chicago, 1905), II, 420.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 421.

⁵ *History of New France*, "Publications of the Champlain Society," XI, 215.

viz., that they themselves do not know how happy they are, and how much they are above the avarice and slavery of the rest of mankind.¹

Is it any wonder that Monboddo should have written:

The poetical fictions concerning the golden age have, like most of the Greek fables, a foundation in historical truth; particularly in that circumstance, of men living upon the fruits of the earth, without blood or slaughter. . . . This golden age may be said yet to exist in some of the countries that have been discovered in the South Sea, where the inhabitants live, without toil or labour, upon the bounty of nature, in those fine climates.²

The praise of the savage, as I have said, permeates pretty much all travel literature in varying degrees of enthusiasm.³ There are, to be sure, many descriptions of the opposite nature which picture the savage as a brute beast, cruel, treacherous, and blood-thirsty, but such pictures curiously failed to leave much impression except possibly on Hobbes and his few followers. Most of the eighteenth-century writers quite evidently preferred to believe the eulogies. Chinard holds Las Casas, author of *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*, 1552, responsible to a large degree for starting the cult of the "noble savage"⁴ and other writers have emphasized the influence of the Jesuits.⁵ While it is true that Las Casas undoubtedly did have a great influence, especially in France, and that the Jesuits, also, consistently praise the savages from first to last, the idealization is too universal a tendency—in existence long before Las Casas as we have seen—to require the explanation of any such definite influences. There would have been abundant eulogies of the native if Las Casas had never lived and the Jesuits had never labored with the savage soul. Indeed examples of this idealization are so profuse as to weary the collector of them.

What is the evidence of the voyagers in the matter of primitive poetry? Scattered throughout the books of travel there are refer-

¹ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, III, 724.

² *Origin and Progress of Language*, I, 225-26, note.

³ In addition to the examples already cited see further: *Letter from Carolina*, 1688, quoted by Toland, *Collection of Pieces*, II, 424-28; Roggewein's description of the inhabitants of Bowman's Islands, in Kerr, *op. cit.*, XI, 104; Candidius' account of the inhabitants of Formosa, in Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1744-46), I, 405; and Laffitau's eulogy of the American Indian, in *Des Mœurs des Sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), I, 105-6.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff.

⁵ Verner W. Crane, "A Lost Utopia of the First American Frontier," *Sewanee Review*, XXVII, 48 ff.

ences to song and dance among the natives of many countries. Leo Africanus, for example, speaks of the poets of Fez,¹ and later of those of Numidia, where "the greater part of Arabians . . . are very wittie and conceited in penning of verses; wherein each man will decipher his loue, his hunting, his combates, and other his woorthie actes: and this is done for the most part in ryme, after the Italians manner."² The *Jesuit Relations* are full of references to, and descriptions of, the songs and dances of the Indians.³ There are scattering references in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*.⁴ I have selected a few of the more important and interesting descriptions.

The primitivistic idea that the early bard was the historian of his tribe and that his songs were handed down by oral tradition receives plenty of support in the travel books. The Indian is described as having a kind of historical ballad which serves as a record of the heroic deeds of his ancestors. These ballads are called *Areytos* in several of the accounts. There is an interesting description of them in as early a book as Richard Eden's translation of the *Decades*:

And particularye to reherse the noble factes of their graundefathers great graundefathers and auncestours aswell in peace as in warre. These two thynges they haue of owlde tyme composed in certeyne meters and ballettes in their language. These rhymes or ballettes, they call *Areytos*. And as owre mynstrelles are accustomed too synge to the harpe or lute, so doo they in lyke maner synge these songes and daunce to the same.⁵

Purchas gives a somewhat similar account drawn from Oviedo.⁶ Acosta records a more formal attempt among the Mexicans to preserve their records in poems and orations: "For the which cause they had Schooles, and as it were Colledges or Seminaries, where the Auncients taught children these Orations, and many other things, which they preserved amongst them by traditions from one to another as perfectly as if they had been written."⁷ This account is

¹ *History and Description of Africa. Done into English in the year 1600 by John Pory* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), II, 455.

² *Op. cit.*, III, 156.

³ For a long list of references, see the section on Oratory, Poetry, and Music, in the Index, LXXII, 355-57, of *Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France* (Cleveland, 1896-1901).

⁴ Besides the passages quoted below see XVI, 553; XVII, 32, 334; XVIII, 325, 447. (Hakluyt Soc. ed.)

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 166-67.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, XV, 218.

⁷ *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Reprinted from the English Translated Edition of Edward Grimston, 1604 (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), II, 404.

repeated in *Purchas His Pilgrimage*.¹ The poetry of the "Yncas Amautas" is described by Garcilasso de la Vega as preserving the deeds of their kings and other famous Yncas and as being "handed down by tradition, that the good deeds of their ancestors might be had in memory and imitated."²

There are many interesting descriptions of the songs and dances at the festival. Lahoutan writes:

Each Man sings his Exploits, and those of his Ancestors. . . . The Dance of War is done in a Circle, during which the Savages are seated on the Ground. He that dances moves from the Right Hand to the Left, singing in the mean time the Exploits of himself and his Ancestors. . . . Every one rises in his turn to sing his Song: And this is commonly practis'd when they go to war, or are come from it.³

The following quotation is taken from Purchas' extract from John Lerijs (Jean Lery):

Their tunable singing was so sweet, that to the skilfull it is scarce credible, how excellently well that harmonie agreed. . . . Then because I did not plainly understand their Language, and conceived not many things which had been spoken by them. I entreated the Interpreter that hee would declare them unto me. He signifieth, that these men, first lamented their dead Ancestors, who were most valiant, but in the end were hereby comforted, in that they hoped that after death they should at length go unto them beyond the Mountains, and dance with them, and celebrate merrie meetings: and that afterward they most grievously threatened the Ouetacates. . . . Moreover, I know not what they intermingled with their Songs concerning a flood, that the waters in times past so overflowed, that they covered the whole earth.⁴

Lafitau has an elaborate description of the song feast, which Brown quotes in his *Dissertation of Poetry and Music*. I quote from Brown's translation: "These Songs, for the most Part, are filled with the *Fables of ancient Times*, the *Heroic Deeds* of their Nation; and are composed in an *antiquated Style*; so old, that often they understand not what they say."⁵ Martin mentions the genius for poetry among the inhabitants of the Western Islands of Scotland and especially among the natives of St. Kilda.⁶

¹ London, 1614, p. 811.

² *Royal Commentaries on the Yncas* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), I, 194.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 422, 424. Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, XI, 182.

⁴ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XVI, 556-57.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 22; Lafitau, *Mæurs*, I, 519. ⁶ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, III, 579 and 665.

The type of material on primitive poetry offered by such writers as Bartholinus, Wormius, Hickes, and so forth, is too well known and has been too frequently treated to need illustration and discussion here.¹

Looking back over this material, it is not difficult to see how eighteenth-century critics evolved their rather astonishing theories. Starting with a strong interest in the treatment of every art and social institution from the point of view of its historical development; building up on the basis of their own natural inclination toward enthusiasm for primitive man and the abundant enthusiasm of the travelers and the ancients a conception of the savage, noble and generous, true to his companions, but above all true to himself and his own emotions; reasoning from this conception to a conception of the type of poetry one ought to expect in the primitive tribe; measuring this up by the remarks of the ancients and the travelers concerning poetry, and by the analysis of the style of Homer and Ossian and such other bits of primitive verse as they could get hold of—doing all this as wholeheartedly as they did it, the primitivists reached conclusions that were almost inevitable.

GOUCHER COLLEGE

LOIS WHITNEY

¹ F. E. Farley, "Scandinavian Influences on the English Romantic Movement," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology*, No. 9 (Cambridge, 1903), and "Three 'Lapland Songs,'" *PMLA* XXI (1906), 1 ff. G. Herzfeld, "Bemerkungen über die nordischen Stoffe in der englischen Poesie des vorigen Jahrhunderts," appendix to *William Taylor of Norwich, Eine Studie* (Halle, 1897); and C. H. Nordby, *The Influence of old Norse Literature upon English Literature* (Columbia, 1901).

"HOW A LOVER PRAISETH HIS LADY"

The only copy of this poem known to the present writer is in the manuscript Fairfax 16 of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. That codex is a commonplace-book or miscellaneous collection made to suit the owner's taste, written almost entirely in one neat, firm, professional hand of perhaps the first half of the fifteenth century; it is described, and its contents listed, in my bibliographical manual of Chaucer, pages 333-35. With the publication of this text and of the *Chance of the Dice*, soon to appear, the entire verse contents of the volume will have been made accessible in print or recognized in collation.

Considering the very close bond of part of the Fairfax to the smaller manuscript Bodley 638, and the nature of most of the poems transcribed in it, the position of this poem is suggestive. In a mere catalogue of items, it would appear between Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte* and the *Lover's Mass*; but after the former poem, which breaks off unfinished with leaf 300, the remainder of the fascicule, five leaves, is left blank, evidently in the expectation of more text. This poem begins, with a fascicule, on 306 recto, and fills all of that gathering except the last leaf, 313, which is blank. The charming and varied poem which I have called the *Lover's Mass*¹ then follows, and is in its turn followed by a series of ballads, "letters," and complaints printed by MacCracken.² Our text has therefore a sort of independence of the poems between which it is bound; and instead of deriving from such a composite and standard codex as that which gave some fourteen or fifteen Chaucerian and Chaucer-influenced texts to Fairfax and Bodley, it may have come to the scribe as a single stray. Its quality, also, is quite different from that, for instance, of the Lydgate poems so numerous in the volume.

This quality is mixed. There is plenty of the furnishings of formal poetry here. The temporal-astronomical opening, the garden setting,

¹ Printed in *Journal of Germanic Philology*, VII, 95-104.

² *Publications Modern Language Association*, XXVI, 142 ff.

the lists of trees, herbs, and birds, the "fresshe condyt," are all familiar to readers of late medieval texts; and when the lady makes her appearance, almost halfway through the poem, the author sets himself to a feature-by-feature catalogue of her beauties, continued to the close, which is also characteristic of formal medieval verse.

Yet in spite of these time-worn trappings, in spite of the stereotyped protestations of inadequacy, there is a clumsy vigor and freshness about the poem. The flowers that laugh pleasantly on the beholder, the trees full of shadow, the wan purple-eyed violet, the lovers ever dying of love and yet never dead, the fairness like a lily in the dry calm summer or like snow under a February moon, the throat to which Solomon's temple-pillars are but filth, the sighs of the young men seeing the lady dance girt in her surcoat, are direct and lively perceptions. Even well-worn devices like the summons to earlier rhetoricians for aid, or the author's laments over his inability to praise fittingly, take an interesting turn, because a personality makes itself felt. Deficient as he is in expressive power, he has more self-consciousness and independence than Lydgate, keener sense-perceptions than Hoccleve or Bokenam. His transitions are clumsy enough, but he is clear what he intends to do, and he has material to fill his lines. He is a not uninteresting example, in that transitional period, of earlier formulas mixed with newer perception, of the awakening of the eye and the deafness of the ear. Satire and joviality peep through his conventions; his straightforward, though occasionally pseudo-scientific, vocabulary is free of abstract terms and full of attempt to use the senses; his rhythm is as unaffected as it is awkward. In spite of the standardized material used, the poem gives more impression of sincerity than we derive from many works of definitely bourgeois subject and "popular" treatment.

The writer's medical prepossessions may be argued from various passages in the poem. Most obvious are the lists of medicinal herbs and gums, often accompanied by a phrase or line on their application. Nearly all of these can be identified in such medico-botanical lists as are collected in Henslow's *Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century*; exceptions are *cristianete*, line 48, which may be the vetch *Astragalus Dioscoridis*, called "Christiana radix" by the Germans, says Parkinson in his *Theatrum Botanicum* (pp. 1086-87); also *cilion*,

line 46, which may be written for silfion or silfium, a plant of North Africa yielding a gum-resin valued in the Middle Ages for its medicinal qualities. This knowledge of herbs does not warrant us in attributing medical prepossessions to the author; the second book of the *Court of Sapience*, for example, has a similar inventory of medicinal plants, with their uses, among its many lists. But such a passage as lines 308-9, describing the lady's eyes, implies professional knowledge. If "fyst tunice" in line 308 be miswritten for *fyrst tunic*, the reference may be to the first tunic or membrane of the eye, of which seven "tunics" are listed, for instance, by Vicary. On this, says our author, is the crystal eyeball, with its comely pearl of jet:—the iris? Again, observe line 346, a conceit as extraordinary as any of Chamberlayne's in his *Pharonnida*, of the Caroline age, and paralleled in only a minor way by the "pregnant lippes" of the *Court of Love*, line 794, or the *tumentia labra* of Maximian. Observe also the mention of the epiglottis in line 348, and the placing of four physicians in charge of the garden. It is the concurrence of such details which tempts to the suggestion that the author may have been professionally interested in medicine; were this the case, his work would have sharpened rather than dulled his sense-observations.

There are many points in the text which require annotation; I trust that other students may be able to explain the *Cirtys* of line 197, the *Estrild* of line 262, the *Melkely* of line 226. This last word was printed *Melbeely* in the few lines of our poem published in *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, I, 49, but I have read it *Melkely*. Standing as the word does between Architrenius and Alanus, it seems to indicate a well-known writer or work, rhetorical or poetic. It is scarcely possible that any scribe could distort *Mercury* into this form, but Martianus Capella would fit well in the list. The name *Estrild* also suggests a miswriting; we remember that "Ester" follows next after Absalom in the ballad of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, but this word is not thereby explained.

Both miswritings and traces of Chaucerian influence are frequent enough in the text to warrant an editor in seeking his emendations along either road. The allusion to Chaucer in lines 219-21 was briefly noted by Schick in the introduction to his edition of Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, page cxlii (a bit of text, p. 78), with a jest at our versi-

fier's expense. And there is more of Chaucer here than the mention of his name. Compare for instance lines 23, 60, 405; and the list could be lengthened. But the miswritings are much more numerous. Passing over obvious scribal tricks such as *whitte* for *wit* in 257, *tal* for *to al* in 371, *therys* and *therbys* in 55, 63, we find *vitatall* for *vitall* in 6, *taurys* for *tourys* in 17, *They* for *The* in 35, *valeyd* for *valey* in 51, *mote* for *more*(?) in 52, *calamy* for *calmy* in 67, *sawltre* for *sweltre* in 72, *And* for *As* in 89, *gray* for *gay* in 108, *enx* for *eny* in 159, *prive* for *prive* in 173, *Hert* for *Her* in 207, *rapours* for *vapours* in 259, *So* for *Sho* (she) in 354, *loud* for *long* in 406, and *mynre* for *myne* in 441. In line 299 *Her* probably represents *Here*. The manuscript also reduplicates *with*, *to*, in lines 88, 141, omits *harpe* from 97, inverts the word-order in 122, and omits *I* from 238—an unusually long list of turpitudes for the Fairfax scribe.

Other puzzles in the text may be due to scribal distortion, e.g., the “*gaue*” of line 336 and the lack of a principal verb in that couplet; or the structure of lines 200, 304–5. Discussion of points other than textual, of the bringing of the “*reliques*” into France (see line 70) or of the connection of lines 156–71 with the motif of the Twelve Abuses, cannot be entered upon here. But the announced purpose of the poem, a laudatory description of the beloved lady, requires some comment. The poem does not, in the body of the manuscript, bear the title here prefixed to it; it is in the table of contents of the Fairfax MS, a table perhaps contemporary, that this article is termed “*How A Louer Prayseth Hys Lady*.” To this praise the last two-thirds of the poem are given; and the method is that of feature-by-feature description.

Such a mode of commendation was one of several possible to the medieval rhetorician. It was highly particularized, as compared with the general profession of inadequacy in the describer or with the generalized assertion of the *ne plus ultra* of the described. This second mode is common in the *Flower and the Leaf*, for example; the poet saw “*neuer thing . . . so wel done*” as the garden hedge, no field so rich in all the world, never yet in all his life a fairer medlar tree, was sure that so pleasant a place as the garden had never been known to any man since the world began, and that sweeter music had never been heard, etc. It is the foreshortened commendation

of the romances; compare *Floris and Blancheflour*, 706, "the faireste that migthe in erthe be," or *King Horn*, 10, "Fairer ne migte non beo born"—and so on. Akin are Chaucer's formulas, "In her was euery vertu at his reste," *Pofoules*, 376, or "that kynde it not amenden mighte," *Troilus*, V, 829, or "In hir ne mighte no thing been amended," *Anelida*, 84. And here also belongs the insistence on the golden mean; the lady's nose is neither too prominent nor too small, she says neither too much nor too little, etc.

Outside these two briefer modes of commendation, suited to an advancing narrative or to verse of the cavalcade-tapestry type, are the larger-scale static modes, the lists; these compare the belauded person to other persons and things, or they praise by enumeration of the separate features. The knight is paralleled to the Nine Worthies or to emperors and sages, the lady to heroines of biblical and classical antiquity. Or it may be precious stones, flowers, stars, which are brought into the comparison. This is done woodenly enough by Lydgate, for instance; but Chaucer knew how to vivify the conventional method by using it negatively. He bids Absalom "hide his gilte tresses clere," Esther "lay her meekness all adown," as Alceste approaches; or in describing the Merchant's wedding feast he cries "Hold thou thy peace, thou poet Martian"—even as Dante had bidden Lucan be silent and pride himself no more on his description.

Still more materialistic is the feature-by-feature description. Lengthy examples of it may be found in Alanus' *Anticlaudianus*, I, 7, or in his *De Planctu Naturae*, prose 1; in Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars Versificatoria*; in Aeneas Sylvius' *De duobus Amantibus*. The mode goes back to Claudian and Maximian, but is much expanded by the medieval rhetoricians; it comes down into Italian and French, e.g., *Il Mare Amoro*so or the "soixante et douze beautés qui sont en dames." The *Court of Love*, 778 ff., has the same motif; Hawes uses it in the *Pastime*, chapter 30; and it survives in Browne and in Thomson *On Beauty*. The modern, or rather the Victorian poet, praised his lady either in conjunction with the aspect of nature to which he compared her, or by the effect produced on himself.

This latter is by no means solely a modern thing. Alongside the generalized formulas of the *Flower and the Leaf* we have such touches

as the odor of the hawthorn, sweet enough to comfort any heart, whatever its despair, and a half-dozen bits of lesser value. Chaucer had said that Cressid's beauty "gladed al the press," following Boccaccio's "facea lieta la gran festa"; King James described "Beautee eneuch to mak a world to dote"; one of Skelton's most fortunate couplets is "Her eyen gray and steape Maketh myn hert to leape." Naturally this mode of description grew in favor as the individualizing tendency grew. Petrarch's watching of his own feelings must have been of power on the later poets who looked to him; and when to the individualistic development the "Romantic" feeling for nature was added, all description was extended. In Rossetti's "eyes . . . deeper than the depths Of waters stilled at even," the expanse of silent water appeals to the poet equally with the human eyes.

Such an enrichment of the passive side of the parallel is uncommon in medieval poetry. Chaucer in the ballad of the Legend attains something of it by sharpening his glance at Absalom and at Esther; and another way in which he increased the power of his formal descriptions was by combining methods, as in *Anelida*, 80-84, or in *Troilus*, I, 172-75. Of his own special mode of description nothing need be said here. It is far removed from the conventionality of this poor production, the interest of which lies in the clumsy attempt of a partly aroused individuality to work with stiffened material.

HOW A LOUER PRAYSETH HYS LADY

[MS Bodl. Fairfax 16, fol. 306 a]

When the son the laumpe of heuen ful lyght	
Phebus with hys eye ful gret round and bryght	
In the lyon rent yn hys domynacion	
Boyling the herbes the rede. swart. white to brown	
With hys coleryk hete and hys nature	5
Rypeth then euery vitatall creature	
And diane echates bothe I here call	
The cold mone the sonnes doghter royall	
Verrey lady and goddes of the see	
Of moystur and spiritz that yn the eyr be	10
With her yong hornys shynyng on her fronte	
Al with her tynnyd hiwe on our oryzonte	

xxxi degres was yn libra ful shene	
Amphitricos the flode and sees quene	
In thys tyme ful calme and rosy to se	15
To a gardyn I went blythe for to be	
Wallyd with taurys ful gret and hye	
Of cristal ful pleasaunt vn to myn eye	
Ther was herbes ther wantyd no floures	
Of al helthe and of al swete odoures	20
They lawghden on men ful pleasauntly	
And pirwynked on youthe ful nysely	
So proude and gay the erthe ys then by gon	
ffor al rychesse on hys bak beryth he on	
In this gardyn of al maner of kynde	25
Cedres were of lyban and of Inde	
With virres clymbyng vp yn to hevene	
fful of shadowe a thousand on a stepinne	
Datrees gernadez euer blowyng orengys	
Brasyl almaunders euen sette yn rengys	30
The hard costard the duryng wardon per	
And damasyns yn a quarter set I fer	
Another quarter was cast by geometrye	
By euclyde ys square lynd and eye	
They Aleys rengyd by proporcion	35
With bawme ryal vynez trayled vp and down	
And herbez ful of euery regyon	
Sent fro the Caan and preter John	
The furst lunary was to make elyxir	
The gold shuld cause make to their plesyr	40
Cokkyll romeyn and sote basylycon	
Basyl our lady seel and herbe John	
The hote sauge a yensst the cold palesye	
The colde Betyn for the frenesye	
Maioran. mynte and rosemaryn	45
Purselan Cilion and grene syngryn	
Nard flour gentyl agnus castus the grete	
Safron with canel therbe cristianete	
The flam bloody the rede roselet	
The wan purpelyde the soot vyolet	50
The valeyd lyly clad al yn snowe	
A thousand mote ther was I sowe	
In the gardyn and fruytes many wer	
Sum gladed the syght with staryng cher	
Sum therys by oft relacion	55
Sum the mouthe by gret delectacion	

And ful many the hert yn especial
 Al was lust plesaunce and cordyal
 Ther was no tre mayde ne steryle
 Nature so them dyd ay forge and fyle 60
 ffro yere to yere so parfyt and fecunde
 That hyt semed an heuen the secunde
 Therbys the gras and euery blowyng tre
 Representeth ay on of thes thre
 To the seke man verrey medycyne 65
 To the hungry bothe to soupe and dyne
 And yn the hote calamy somer seson
 In their shadowe to rayl fresshly vp and down
 With ladyes ful of youthe and plesaunce
 And them tel how the reliquez com yn to fraunce 70
 Or els wyth syghes cold and gret dolours
 How they sawltre for louyng paramours
 And euer they dey and yet neuer dede
 And al causeth beaute and wommanhede
 And herbe ys noon of suche nature 75
 That may ther woful woundys cure
 But throgh hope and grace ther spryngeth a well
 To paradys ledyth them out of hell
 And euyn besyde gummez wonder fyn
 Of aloes myrre and terrebentyn 80
 Olibaun encense and perosyn
 Mastyk sarcacol and duryng rosyn
 To purge lepre and malyncolye
 I sawe with whey dronk epythymye
 And to purge coler I brent rede and hard 85
 Pelettys of Rubarbe and spikenard
 And salt fleume that sleyth our kyndly hete
 Turbyt with with canel fast dyd they ete
 And charged was by the maister gardynier
 Old ypocras I knewe hym by hys cher 90
 ffor of herbys was hys disputyson
 Of the cours of heuyn or complexion
 A nother gardynier sawe I the galyen
 The iijde appollo the forthe abyceen
 They commaunded ay that melodye 95
 Suld ther be both ryght loud and hye
 The daunser pipe the swownyng [sic]
 The waker trumpe the trumpet sharp
 But ough helas I had almost forgete
 The chirme of briddys feir and swete 100

Not of the cokkowe nother hykwale
 But of the chelaundre and nyghtyngale
 Of grene taryns bothe larke and fynche
 Thrushes throstels and twytlyng goldfynche
 But this was al man is ere to plesse 105
 But there was also ther eye for to plesse
 Many a grene spekyng popyn jay
 The prout pacok with his fetheris gray
 The whyte swan gowache and fesaunte
 Hennys of Inde come fro brugys and gaunte 110
 Yet I beseche yow hauethe in your mynde
 Of iulus / ther by commyng out of Inde
 ffuller of rubytes and perles grete
 Then the felde ys of cornys of whete
 Of topaz saphir and diamaunde 115
 Iacinthe charbocke and adamante
 And the ryuer ful of merchandyse.
 Of al the world fro Capses vn to ffrise
 In this gardeyn als a condyte ther was
 Not of cold lede neyther of brotel glas 120
 But of bournyd goold louely for the nonys
 With charbocke other and precious stonys
 Shynyng ful bryght by the sterred leme
 Lyke a torche and the fresshe sonnys beme
 The fresshe condyte rynnyng with bawme ryal 125
 With Marwa and wyn of bewawne with al
 With mylke with oyl wyth watir of Rose
 With muske with amber ryal I suppose
 The wounded bodyes to hele and save
 Antyoche to drynk and holsom safe 130
 Ther was als a myrrour of wonder engyne
 Ipolysshed by Intellygence devyne
 Made by sterred astronomye
 By spirytes of the eyre and nygramancye
 In whom ye myght truly byhold and loke 135
 In thexemployre of deyn boke
 How your frendys fare yn euery contre¹
 And how your selfe yn parfyt hele may be
 And also by vertue feythe hope and cheryte
 By our fredom and vertues doynge 140
 With the prince of pees to to abyde euer duryng
 I myght speke of a parke of bestys with horn
 Thantelope reynder and vnicorn

¹ Lines 137-39: either this is a triplet, or a line is missing.

Iclosed with marble xxti myle a boutte
 A thousand panteris and bukkys yn a route 145
 With elkys hertys white and blake
 Tristeth wel of venyson was no lakke
 Neyther bredyng of faucons white
 A good goshauke ye myght haue for a myzte
 A Cyte was ther by which at my dome 150
 ffayrer rycher then euer was rome
 Thebes .Troy .or the grete Babyloyn
 Venys .london .Parys .or Coloyn
 Wher in was the grounde of polecye
 Of knyghthode astate and deuote clergye 155
 Ther was withoute envy religion
 Hygh lordshypp with oute extorcion
 Men of law and marchaundyse
 With oute eny spot of covetyse
 Wedded men with out varyaunce 160
 Meke wyfes ful of obseruaunce
 Serauntz that haten Idulnes
 True gromys with out crabbednes
 And frerys with out flaterye
 Displayers with out vylonye 165
 Chapmen with out othys and gyle
 Myllers that tyllyth not twyes yn a myle
 Wydwes that neuer lysteth a man to kys
 Of xl yer maydens that neuer tred her sho amys
 Prestys prechyng ful of holynes 170
 Cunnyng clerkys fleyng gret ryches
 ffare wel gardyn no mor wol I the discryve
 Nothing hyt lakked that yn erthe mygt prive
 Hyt semed no dunghil but a paradyse
 A plot of heuen made by angels devyse 175
 But what I sawe ther romyng to and fro
 Sum what wol I sey ere I fro you go
 I sey youthe that neuer hopyth to deye
 And rychesse that al the world doth gye
 Veynglory strengthe and prowesse 180
 Honour fame beaute and lyghtnesse
 Stondyng on a brygge ouer a ryuer
 ffastned with no thing but wyth a brer
 Sum byheld the gardyn iiijxxti yer and mo
 Sum an hour lyke the shadowe wer ago 185
 So me semed that suerte ne substaunce
 Myght not stond with sodeyn varyaunce

Wel ys hym that syker and yn Joy ay may dwele
 That ys not yn erthe see neyther helle
 That lesson foryate I and lokyd aboute 190
 And a wyght sawe I daunsyng yn the route
 A lady me semyd wyth a festly chere
 Nay an Angel and woman Ifere
 Her fresshe beaute was mor as I gesse
 Then euer was a pryncely cristemesse 195
 In the tyme of glorious Calamon
 Cirtys Artour or els kyng John
 Or the yong veryssh sonne in aryet
 Ten degrees on hye with his mekely heet
 Whiche Titan then loue vn to nature 200
 ffor gen many a lusty creature
 ffor he ys the second cause of generacion
 And that prouythe wel yn his Assencion
 Of al vital lyf and sensible
 Wytnes on ambros vppon the bible 205
 O lat be venus yn thy shynyng spere
 Her gret fayrenes shal thou neu~~e~~r pere
 Neythir may for al thy techelyd hewys
 A court of beaute verely sho ys
 Ye certys ys fayrer than fayrye 210
 Or esperus the day ster bryght on the skye
 Ough helas my tonge thou ner a bell
 Of her beaute sumwhat to tell
 Or els that I coud with wordys of Rethoryke
 Sumwhat descryve wher to she ys lyke 215
 Cum on tulius with sum of thy flouris
 Englesshe geffrey with al thy colourys
 That wrote so wel to pope Innocent
 And mayster Chauser sours and fundement
 In englysshe tunge swetely to endyte 220
 Thy soule god haue with virgynes white
 Moral. gower. lydgate. Rethor. and poete
 Ouide. stase. lucan. of bataylls grete
 Wher art thou boece symachus and Guido
 Virgil. barnard. Austyn and varro 225
 Archytreny melkely and Aleyn
 They konwe me not my al ys yn veyne
 ffare wel ye musez al of thryes thre
 And namly vrania and caliope
 I haue slept out of the hul of parnaso 230
 Elycona vn to Thymus the hul ys go

ffro me dulle asse and wol not abyde
 Ouer the carybde comyn ys the tyde
 fforthe sayl I wol and gesse yn my wyse
 As bayard the blynd trottyng on the Ise 235
 When he is down ye iapen merely
 fforthe I wol lawghyt on for so wol y
 Ye laghe but selde [I] trowe at holynes
 But at me ye shal anon as I ges
 Ther shal neuer wyght gret thing atteyne 240
 That dret euery thing but ay lyf yn peyne
 Ner god fully *serue* I you ensure
 That wold plesen euery creature
 I haue ben out of my wey but nowe ageyn
 I wol of my lady sum what sayn 245
 ffirst of the beaute of hyr heuynyssh face
 Wher was al beaute wrought yn lytel space

descripcio capitis

Hyr hede was ner hand a cercle rounde
 Kyndly made reson in to habounde
 A quarter of the *Dyametre* by verrey lyne 250
 Shadyd hir here of ramyssh goold fyne
 The cellys of memor were yn euery thing
 ful clere with out fantesye and ymagynyng
 Ther was no mannye but true disposicion
 With out al furious mocion 255
 Al was by nature yn ordre y knytte
 Ther with al a parlement ful of whitte

descripcio crinium

On which growyd out gylt tressys grete
 Of erthly vapours drawn out by hete
 Vn to the erthe ful strejt raught a don 260
 flayrer then euer had yong absolon
 Estrild. Eleyne. or fresshe Polixene
 More clere then bemes of phebus shene
 In the crabbe yn hys somer tropike
 Or sparclys of fyre medlyd with bryke 265
 A myne of goold throggh out was I ronne
 Ibourned lyke to a fresshe fyry sonne
 And softer hyt was then opyn sylke or satyn
 Inogh to wrap al hir fair body yn
 Nowe of the baner of womanhede 270
 Whiche ys the geme of al goodlyhede
 The swete beaute of the visage whyte
 White as lyly when he ys yn hys delyte

"HOW A LOVER PRAISETH HIS LADY"

391

Most in the dry calme somer seson
 Was sho lyke the bournyd white whalys bon 275
 Ye sumwhat the snowe wolde ther to apere
 In a frosty mone yn the ffeueryere
 But not so paly whyte for yn hir lyflyhede
 Hyt semed through the skyn fressh rosys rede
 Istylled wer not fade yn her colour 280
 He that made hyt was a parfyt elymnour
 The snowe iij partyes the rose that other
 Held with crymysyn veluet ys brother
 The visage streight not to long nother lene
 Not to round no to short but yn a mene 285
 No thing passed out of hys mesure
 Beaute hym self was euery feture
 I wondre not thogh she wer wondre feyr
 She was allone kynd made hir neuer peyr
 I told you not of hir feyr yen clere 290
 Lat be may morowe tyde be thou neuer so clere
 So quyke heuenly so festly on to se
 Smylyng glad with sad debonerte
 Lyke a smaragde or a cler saphire
 But with al ther commeth out a fyre 295
 O swete byhold men to glad so amerely
 And euyn with al men causeth for to dye
 But not for euer lyke to a coketryce
 Her a down and with yn a sygh a non aryse
 Maugre hys reson ay hyt loue and drede 300
 fful enchauntyd by hyr womanhede
 A thousand hertys I dar wel vnder take
 Sho shal haue whan hyr lyst a fest make
 Ten Mⁱ conynges but only kunyng
 She hath non hir self ys the same thing 305
 ffor goold ys goold thogh he no gold haue
 Sho ys glad fest vn to euery cunnyng maue
 On the fyste tunice ys a cristal
 Wyth a perle of gete comly wythal
 The spiritz which are called vysyble 310
 Lyke a fayry that ys vnvysyble
 I drede lest sho wol with hyr meke byhold
 Mo men sle then hardy Ector many fold
 Sho must shryve hir of manslaghter busyly
 But ther is no syn but that is don wilfully 315
 The browys smale cercled and bent lyke a bowe
 With cowslyppys and goold of damaske Ithrowe

Yelwer then yelowe of erthly nature
 In *paradys* was made thys creature
 And halfe a pawme they dwel a sundre 320
 The beaute be twen ys lyke a wondir
 But of the forhede playn and wommanysshe
 To discryue my hert slepyth for faut of englysshe
 Whitter of hir self then ermyn or plesaunce
 Vmple lawn reynex or relisaunce 325
 No thyng pynchyd lyke a nonnys wymple
 Ne forowyd drye lyke a nabbesse gymple
 The thryd partye eyn by *proporcion*
 Toke of hyr face fully the porcion
 The skyn wondyr soft smal white and clere 330
 Of nature and not by craft maden clere
 Then prydyth the strezt nose lyke a rule
 Lynyal euen yn womanly rule
 Not apysshe short signe of hastynes
 Nor crane bekyd to shewe manysshenes 335
 Thogh *gauer* Zeusys and pygmalyon
 Hyr to countrefete by *proporcion*
 No mor shuld be lyke then peynted fyre
 On a wal to stryve with boylyng Ire
 Out of the nostrelis bawme dothe encense 340
 Soter then yreos rosys or encense
 O lytel mouthe o leder of the daunse
 Louyers to wound with fyry pleasaunce
 A wyght to fyre with out eny fyre
 And sho not foulyd of eny foul desyre 345
 Whos lyppys wyth chyld ben by maydenhede
 Swol and engreyned wyth rosys rede
 But ther wythyn vpon the pyglote
 Whiche of the tunge ys more and also rote
 Ther ys a sakke with flour of vyolet 350
 Of *cynamoine* Ielofres sanguinet
 Brethyth the peple wyth suche a flauour
 ffro al heuynes a non with her odour
 Sho wol them cure and fro pestylence
 With her swete byhold and hyr wncense 355
 Then the palesyed tethe of Iuory
 Ben sette yn ordre on by and by
 fful lowe and bourned with whalys bon
 With out ake or putrefaccion
 fful euen and lytle of stature 360
 Al thogh sho wer of pygmeys nature

Ha beaute ha youthe ere cheyned I fere
 In hyr mekely nek bothe white and clere
 Lyke a piler polysshed marbelyn
 Snowysshe white vpryght streght as a lyne 365
 Of piramidal or mathymatyk
 Or sotely to thynke be methafisyk
 Wondre strejt wondre soft wondre smal
 Pes hyt was made lyke an heuen at al
 With your hand ye myght hyt clyp a boutte 370
 Hyt was a cours ye a fest tal a route
 The veinys wonder smal lyke a wyre
 Of fressher blue then swaged saphyre
 The goolden pylers of the temple of salamon
 Of Sychim set with perles and marble ston 375
 Was but fylthe vn to hyr throte so white
 Hyt was beaute wedded vn to delyte
 Throgh which passed many toghtys swete and shene
 Nowe good thryft haue ye myn own hert ys quene
 Omere a ryse and cal vn to a muse 380
 And helpe my flewmy wyt thys mater forthe to muse
 O mercury O poluma with your goolden Inke
 Wryteth on hyt passyth my wyt ther on to thynke
 Hyr appul brestys to fele was no thondre
 A lytil spanne was set a sundre 385
 So lyte so white so hard so rounde
 By nature was neuer such I founde
 No neuer shal I dar vnder take
 But god hym self wol the labour take
 ffor nature had kyd al her maystrye 390
 And almost toke a syngler vilanye
 To forge such on to passe kynde
 Nature was wery and wept out of mynde
 And borowyd of thalmyghty deyte
 To make on Infynyt of beaute 395
 The wert vppon the lytel papilet
 Streynyd of rubies flesschly fyry rede
 Made of cristal and perlus Ifere
 And maydens blode tendre white and clere
 To dart a young wyght soore to wounde
 Thogh he wer ryght prout hole and sounde 400
 Her armys small whitter than swannys kynde
 Not mannysshe rough hard as a rynde
 But small streyght flesschely rounde & soft
 Nature goode thryft bad her ful oft 405

The handys lytill the fynGRES loud and small
 God dyd them moolde parfytely with all
 The nailys rede not peyntyd as in spayne
 Nature in her wrought no thing in vayne
 Her sydys long flesshely smothe and white 410
 In whom love enbrasyd his delyte
 In a circote when she daunsyd Icladde
 Meny a yonge man syghed ful madde
 Ther to in her waast so small fetyd was she
 That in xxti Inche alday gyrd wold she be
 But to the god in tryne vnyte 415
 I wondre how that feyrenesse and excellent beaute
 May brynge a yong man to sorowful passyon
 With drede with wacche ye and lesse al hys reson
 ffor me semyth that the contrarye 420
 Shuld cause a man to madde and falle in Mannye
 As thundres Gunnys and tempestys of the see
 With derkenesse in longe deepe prison for to be
 These been causys and grete occasyon
 To transforme a mannys ymaginacyon 425
 To lyve in drede and in bestialyte
 But no thing the shappe of excellent beaute
 Of a lady feyre yong and avenaunt
 Lett clerkys sey to me hyt ys not appertenaunt
 Save that same thing that woundeth soor 430
 Hyt wol save the same wyght ye for euermor
 Touching the paleys of venus the quene
 The goolden cloyster of maydenhode I mene
 Naturys celle storer of mankynde
 Left penne and tunge ye and all my mynde 435
 Ther on to muse I am in grete dowte
 But that adamauntys closyd hyt aboute
 Hyt was none ostry ner loggyng place
 But for wedlok the sacrament of grace
 ffelyng I trow coude gyf sentence
 Of suche a place I had neuer experience 440
 But to certyfy yow fully myne entent
 The xv beauteys I shall yow present
 That adorneth beaute and wommanhede
 As the sunne doth the heyr in hys bryghthede 445
 ffyftene beautys in her conteynynd ys
 She semeth an hevenly yong paradys

thre white

She ys snowyssh whyte vniuersally
And namely the teeth and in the Ien specially

thre rede

And also rosy reede in membres thre 450
Her naylis her lyppis full flammy be
Her fresshe chekys rosy in mesure
Who ys that wold hate suche a creature

thre longe

The longe nekke .syddys wondir soft
ffyngres long and leene / beaute kyssyth hem fyl oft 455

thre rounde

Rounde brestys / armys / rounde and small
Anothir thing whiche I speke not of at all

thre lytill

Lytyll erys / lytill mouthe / the fete praty with all
A lover on to thenke hyt is a cordyall
But shortly thys ys for a conclusyon 460
A part she had of all perfeccion
ffro hye to lowe as in lengthe and brede
All was beaute and parfyte wommanheed
Of this lady haue I made a discripcion
Aftir my sympill wyt and entencion 465
Let other amende hyt that better kunne
ffor kunnyng in me was neuer kunne none

Explicit

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

CERVANTES' ATTITUDE TOWARD HONOR

The code of honor prevailing in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been studied almost exclusively with reference to the dramatic authors of that period. Lope de Vega was the first literary critic to emphasize honor as an all-important dramatic motive. Almost every conceivable honor situation occurs in his voluminous drama. Calderón, while introducing few new honor situations, surpassed Lope as a theoretician of honor. His legalistic and scholastic mind delighted in imagining intricate honor situations and providing for them subtle solutions. We may search the duel books of the time in vain for a complete formulation of the honor code. Many of its provisions were too illegal and un-Christian to pass censorship in a book laying down rules of conduct. To reconstruct the code of honor we must turn to the writers of drama and fiction. And Calderón is the richest source. By assembling these scattered references we learn how the Spanish gentleman of the Age of Gold was expected to act when involved in an honor dilemma. We are confronted with an odd farrago of principles. Some arouse admiration for their chivalry; others indignation for their ruthless savagery.¹

But it is wrong to think that all Spaniards blindly accepted the prevailing code of honor. Aside from the clergy and moralists who denounce it, there are at least two protesting voices. One of these is the novelist Doña María Zayas y Sotomayor, who often protests against the injustice and cruelty of man toward her sex. The other is Cervantes, whose kindly nature led him to accept whatever was noble

¹ This article presupposes a knowledge of the honor code prevailing in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Rubió y Lluch, *El sentimiento del honor en el teatro de Calderón*, Barcelona, 1882; Castro, "Algunas observaciones acerca del concepto del honor en los siglos xvi y xvii," *Revista de filología española*, III, 1 ff. and 357 ff.; Stuart, "Honor in the Spanish Drama," *Romanic Review*, I, 247 ff. and 357 ff.; De Molina, "El sentimiento del honor en el teatro de Calderón," *Revista de España*, LXXX, 355 ff., 514 ff.; LXXXI, 230 ff., 487 ff.; LXXXII, 52 ff.; Herdler, "The Sentiment of Honor in Calderón's Theatre," *Modern Language Notes*, VIII, 3. There are several other studies less easily accessible and less important.

in the code and to reject all that was mean, un-Christian, cruel. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate Cervantes' attitude toward honor as evidenced by his life and writings.

HONOR AND THE CERVANTES FAMILY

Nothing is better established than the fact of Cervantes' personal courage. In battle he was brave to the point of rashness. He won laurels at Lepanto, the personal praise of his commander in chief, Don Juan de Austria, who also recommended him for a commission and actually increased his pay as a recompense for gallantry. He also displayed moral courage of a high order when in Algiers he several times, after the failure of plans for escape, assumed sole responsibility for the conspiracies, offered himself as a scapegoat, resolutely shielding his companions. These facts are so fully proved and universally known that it would be superfluous even to cite references.

We lack positive proof that Cervantes ever fought a duel, but it seems very probable that he did on at least one occasion. I allude to the document published by Morán in 1863, in which it appears that a certain Miguel de Cervantes was on the fifteenth of September, 1569, condemned to ten years' exile for having wounded a nobleman in a duel. We cannot be positively certain that this was not some other Miguel de Cervantes, but the date, 1569, is precisely that when we think Cervantes left Spain for Italy. Moreover, the story seems to be confirmed in two of Cervantes' works: *El gallardo español* and *Persiles y Sigismunda*. In the former a character bearing the name of Saavedra gives a similar reason for a hasty flight to Italy, and the same story, amplified, occurs again in the novel mentioned. Here the narrator, Antonio, is a character whom we can again identify with Cervantes himself. For a full discussion, see Schevill and Bonilla.¹ If Cervantes' personal duels were few, we may be sure that this was because his was not a contentious nature, not that he lacked courage.

But the point of honor in Cervantes' life arose chiefly in connection with the women of his family. This is not the place to retell at length the painful discoveries which modern research has brought to

¹ *Obras Completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Persiles y Sigismunda* (Madrid, 1914), I, xxxviii ff.

light with regard to them. I give merely a brief recapitulation with references to the places where fuller accounts may be found.

The scandal begins with the novelist's aunt, Doña María, daughter of the Licentiate Juan de Cervantes. Between the years 1529-31 she was the *amiga* and *manceba* of a wealthy prelate, Don Martín de Mendoza, archdean of Guadalajara. Apparently the father approved of this quasi-marriage. Before the relationship was entered into, Mendoza signed an obligation to pay a dowry of 500 ducats to enable Doña María to marry or to enter a convent as she might desire. This dowry he later refused to pay, alleging that his numerous gifts far exceeded that sum. Don Juan entered into protracted litigation, with the law on his side, but was balked by the unfair influence which the powerful Mendoza family exerted upon the judges. Poverty did not excuse this liaison as the family of Juan de Cervantes maintained *gran fausto de casa*, owning slaves, horses, coaches, and maintaining throngs of servants.

A generation passes and we find the novelist's two sisters, Andrea and Magdalena, involved in numerous breach of promise suits suggestive of blackmail. Sometimes the party sued is an inexperienced nobleman's son who agrees to marry and make a generous settlement on coming into possession of his estate. Sometimes the victim is an elderly man of affairs. Most frequently the sisters are found to be in equivocal relations with Italian bankers, virtually the only prosperous men of business to be found in the Spain of that day. The sisters seem to have had personal charm and shrewd legal advice. They tricked alike both the unwary and the cautious. In one instance the two sisters had relations with the same man.

This was the sad situation which Cervantes encountered when, after long years of soldiering and captivity, he returned home to assume the position of head of the family. He who was penniless must exert authority over two sisters financially more prosperous than himself. Two courses of action lay open to him. He must either restore the lost family honor by a cold-blooded honor murder, or accept the situation and lose caste. He chose the latter course. He who considered ingratitude one of the worst of sins could not turn against the warm-hearted Magdalena who had contributed to his ransom out of her slender dowry. "De gente bien nacida es

agradecer los beneficios que reciben, y uno de los pecados que más a Dios ofende es la ingratitud." (*D.Q.*, I, xxii.) He took no steps whatever to restore the family honor. He was always a devoted father, uncle, and brother. Though his attitude was weak and indulgent, it was Christian. He perhaps displayed a greater moral courage than any he had shown in Algiers.

Years pass by and Andrea and Magdalena become old, poor, and pious. But a third generation of the Cervantes women carries on the unhappy tradition. The beloved niece, Costanza, is seriously compromised, while his daughter, the odious Isabel de Saavedra, becomes the most successful sharpster of them all. Documents show how she tricked a rich and elderly married man out of a house, and how he and Cervantes try to save appearances by arranging a hasty marriage with an unworthy adventurer, Molina. The aged admirer, Urbina, seems to have deeded over to Cervantes certain property, which he in turn deeded over to Isabel. Her adventures form a long chapter. She had all the sagacity which her father lacked. She was prosperous while he was dying in want, survived him by many years, and died rich in 1652. Cervantes seems to have exerted little or no authority over this headstrong daughter. His relations with her may have been uncordial; but in her case too he was incapable of doing what the code demanded. Honor was the great tragedy of Cervantes' life. He who added to the family honor must live in a dishonored household.¹

HONOR ALLUSIONS IN CERVANTES' WORKS—GENERALIZATIONS

Cervantes never condemns honor *in toto*. In general he accepts the ideas of his times, social, literary, and religious. When he reacts against them, his rebellion is instinctive rather than reasoned. He was a man guided by the heart rather than by the head. So in theory he accepts honor just as he accepts the catholic faith. We find in his writings numerous statements like the following:

De los bienes que reparten los cielos entre los mortales, los que más se han de estimar son los de la honra, a quien se posponen los de la vida [*P.y S.*,

¹ For justification of the foregoing statements see Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Miguel de Cervantes, A Memoir*, Oxford, 1913; Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos* (2 Vols.), Madrid, 1897-1902; Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinos*, Madrid, 1905; Alonso Cortés, *Casos cervantinos que tocan a Valladolid*, Madrid, 1905; Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos*, Madrid, 1914.

II, ii]. Una onza de buena fama vale más que una libra de perlas [*ibid.*, II, xiv]. Porque la honra perdida y vuelta a cobrar con estremo, no tiene bien alguno que se le iguale [*ibid.*, II, xxi]. Honra que sobrepuja al de todas las acciones humanas [*P. y S.*, III, 1]. La honra vale más que el oro. Por la honra, la vida en poco estimo [*Casa de los celos*]. Honra que sobrepuja al de todas las acciones humanas [*ibid.*, III, 1].

Such generalizations are insignificant; we find countless such in all the writers of the time.

Similarly, it is plain that he does not undervalue female virtue:

Mira que no hay joya en el mundo que tanto valga como la mujer casta y honrada, y que todo el honor de las mujeres consiste en la opinión buena que dellas se tiene [*D.Q.*, I, xxxiii].

She must, however, not merely be virtuous, but maintain the appearance of virtue:

Lo primero le aconsejaría que mirase más a la fama que a la hacienda, porque la buena mujer no alcanza la buena fama solamente con ser buena, sino con parecerlo, que mucho más dañan a las honras de las mujeres, las desembolturas y libertades públicas que las maldades secretas [*D.Q.* II, xxii].

La hermosura que se acompaña con la honestidad, es hermosura; y la que no, no es más de un buen parecer [*P. y S.*, IV, i]. La mejor dote que puede llevar la mujer principal, es la honestidad, porque la hermosura y la riqueza el tiempo la gasta, o la fortuna la deshace [*ibid.*, IV, i]. La mujer ha de ser como el armiño, dejándose antes prender que enlodarse [*ibid.*, IV, i].

LIMITATIONS OF THE CODE

So much for generalities. Cervantes is much more interesting when he limits the code. In one long passage (*D.Q.*, II, xxvii) he tells us when one should and should not fight. It is licit to draw arms: (1) in defense on the Catholic faith; (2) to defend one's life, a procedure which he holds is sanctioned both by natural and divine law; (3) in defense of honor, family, and property; (4) serving one's king in a just war; and a fifth cause, he adds, is defense of the fatherland, unless this fifth reason be held identical with the second. To these five capital reasons, he says, a few others may be added provided they be just and reasonable:

Pero tomarlas por niñerías y por cosas que antes son de risa y pasatiempo que de afrenta parece que quien las toma carece de todo razonable discurso, cuanto más que el tomar venganza injusta (que justa no puede haber alguna

que lo sea) va derechamente contra la santa ley que profesamos, en la cual se nos manda que hagamos bien a nuestros enemigos y que amemos a los que nos aborrecen.

This passage is significant in that Cervantes here comes out strongly against vengeance, and seeks to reconcile honor and Christianity. These views are confirmed in many other passages. Elsewhere he mentions liberty as a reason for drawing arms: "Por la libertad así como por la honra, se puede, y debe aventurar la vida" (*D.Q.*, II, lviii). He accepts fully *la ley natural*: "Pues las divinas y humanas (leyes) permiten que cada uno se defienda de quien quisiere agraviarle" (*ibid.*, I, xii). He believes a gentleman should fight in defense of a woman: "Contra cuerdos y contra locos está obligado cualquier caballero andante a volver por la honra de las mujeres, cualesquiera que sean" (*ibid.*, I, xxv). Though the speaker is Don Quijote, one cannot doubt that the author accepts this principle and is not ridiculing it.

Cervantes' shrewd common sense led him to reject all silliness found in the honor code. In *El trato de Argel* he ridicules those fine gentlemen whose honor prevented them from lending a helping hand at the oar when their galleys were pursued by Algerian pirates. These often ended their days in Algiers, with honor intact at the price of liberty:

Pero allá tiene la honra
el cristiano en tal extremo,
que asir en un trance el remo
le parece que es deshonra.

While these words are spoken by a Moor, Cervantes clearly subscribes to the sentiment. He burlesques in his *Don Quijote* those duels fought for silly or insufficient reasons, as when one knight demands of another the confession of his lady's superior beauty; but nowhere in his writings is there any effort to ridicule or attack the finer ideals of chivalry, the protection of widows, orphans, and the weak and needy. Don Quijote, it is true, when protecting the weak, often aids the unworthy or does the worthy more harm than good (the adventure of Andrés); but the humor derives from his crazy application of a sound principle. The principle itself is as much accepted by Don Quijote's creator as by the ingenious hidalgo himself.

A GENTLEMAN'S HONOR

Cervantes, unlike Calderón, did not sanction unnecessary duels. In *El Laberinto de amor*, Manfredo is unjustly accused of kidnapping the Duke of Dorlán's daughter. When challenged to a duel, he neither refuses nor accepts, but pleads for time, that his innocence may appear and an unnecessary duel be avoided. This is another evidence of Cervantes' common sense and lack of false pride.

Apparently he felt that it was right to draw sword to resent a blow. In "La Gitanilla," Don Juan kills a soldier who had dealt him a *bofetón*. Juan, thought to be a gypsy, is arrested and in danger of losing his life, but there is no difficulty in securing his release and pardon when his true rank appears. Neither is any sympathy wasted on the soldier.

The principle that one friend should aid another in an affair of honor is considered axiomatic (*Galatea*, II, the story of Silenio). One must fight for one's friend's honor. In *El gallardo español*, el capitán Guzmán when arrested for dueling says:

Ni me afrenta ni me corre
este agravio, porque nace
de la justicia que hace
al que su amigo socorre.

More striking is the story of Uchali Farfax, a Calabrian who became a Turkish renegade because a Turk gave him a buffet and only a change of faith enabled him to fight the duel necessary to the restoration of his honor. This story was not told with approval of the act, but without evidence of surprise.

A gentleman should keep his promise:

que la promesa
del hidalgo o cavallero
es deuda líquida expresa,
y ser siempre verdadero
el bien nacido profesa [*Los baños de Argel*].

A promise is so binding that a nobleman should keep his plighted faith to a girl inferior to him in station to whom he has promised marriage, for Cervantes holds that a lowly marriage does not bring dishonor. The specific instance is Fernando's promise to Dorotea (*D.Q.*, I, xxxvi). The principle of aiding a lady in distress is accepted:

"Contra cuerdos y contra locos está obligado cualquier cavallero andante a volver por la honra de las mujeres, cualesquiera que sean" (*ibid.*, I, xxv).

Like every other Spaniard of his time Cervantes had some interest in honor technicalities. After being beaten by the Yangüeses, Don Quijote cites a provision of the code to the effect that blows delivered with the implements of a trade do not "afrent." If a shoemaker hits you with his last, you are not dishonored. Hence, he argues, the staves of the drovers were the tools of their calling and blows delivered therewith brought no disgrace (*ibid.*, I, xv). This is, of course, burlesque of a technical absurdity. Similarly (*ibid.*, II, xxxii), where Don Quijote is insulted verbally by the duke's chaplain, the duke soothes him by stating that priests are powerless to insult in the technical sense (*no agravian*). Don Quijote agrees that priests, like women and children, cannot offend. He then makes a distinction between the *agravio* and the *afrenta*, the difference being that the *afrenta* can be and is sustained. For example, he says, a man is attacked by ten men armed with clubs. He draws sword and does his duty, but the numbers prevent the securing of vengeance. He remains *agraviado*, but not *afrentado*. Again, suppose a single antagonist beats a gentleman with a club treacherously from behind. The latter draws sword but the antagonist runs away. The man attacked remains *agraviado*, but not *afrentado*, because the attack is not sustained. If, however, the assailant remains and fights it out, the gentleman is both *agraviado* and *afrentado*, the former because the blow was a treacherous one. In this passage Cervantes speaks of "las leyes del maldito duelo." The word "maldito" seems to be significant of his attitude. Later in *Persiles y Sigismunda* (III, ix) in connection with Antonio's honor quarrel (which appears to have been Cervantes' own) it turns out that Antonio had been merely "agraviado" and not "afrentado" by his opponent, because the insults were spoken after the sword had been drawn and "la luz de las armas quita la fuerza a las palabras." Schevill and Bonilla see an inconsistency between these two passages, but the cases in point were quite different. It was an admitted principle that, after a gentleman had drawn a sword, whatever he said did not count as an insult which needed to be avenged.

The plot of *El gallardo español* hinges on an honor question. Don Fernando Saavedra (Cervantes himself?) is challenged by a Moor to a private duel. The commander in chief of the besieged city of Orán forbids him to accept the challenge, alleging with good sense that the public weal transcends private interests. Fernando escapes from the city, fights his duel and performs prodigies of valor which secure his final pardon. The point at issue is military discipline versus private honor, and the solution in favor of assertive individualism is very Spanish.

VENGEANCE

Cervantes never sanctions dueling for the sake of vengeance, still less a crime for that purpose, and a deferred, cold-blooded vengeance is doubly obnoxious to him. Compare the passage previously cited (*D.Q.*, II, xxvii) where he states unequivocally that there is no such thing as a just vengeance. In *El coloquio de los perros* he satirizes his countrymen's unhappy lust for vengeance. Berganza, the dog-hero, has been adopted by a troupe of actors. One day, during the acting of a farce, he is cruelly beaten. At the time he was muzzled and could not take vengeance. Later when his blood had cooled he would not, for: "la venganza pensada arguye crueldad y mal ánimo." A dog giving seventeenth-century Spain a needed lesson!

In *La Española inglesa* the young English naval commander spares the Spanish privateers on the ground that valor and cruelty are incompatible: "y querría que esta hazaña de hoy ni a mí ni a vosotros que en ella me habéis sido compañeros, nos diese mezclado con el nombre de valientes el renombre de crueles, porque nunca dijo bien la crueldad con la valentía."

Sancho expounds good Christian doctrine when he says: "No hay para qué, señor, tomar venganza de nadie, pues no es de los buenos Christianos tomarla de los agravios." To be sure, Don Quijote waxes sarcastic in his reply to this, for he sees that Sancho's Christianity is a cloak to cover his cowardice; but the humor lies in the situation which occasioned the remark, not in the views expressed. In reality they are Cervantes' own (*ibid.*, II, xi).

The author's hatred of cold-blooded vengeance is again seen in the episode (*ibid.*, II, lxiii) where the viceroy of Barcelona spares the lives of two guilty Turks, because, as he says: "no se ejecutan bien las venganzas a sangre helada." This is the more striking in that Cervantes had suffered at the hands of the Turks and came nearer hating them than any other race; but hatred seems a passion of which he was incapable.

JEALOUSY

If Cervantes attacked vengeance, it is not surprising that he shows a like attitude toward jealousy, that passion which more than any other motivated crimes of vengeance. In his well-known allegorical poem, *Los Celos*, he gives utterance to his detestation of jealousy.

Preciosa, in *La gitanilla*, expresses a view obviously more Cervantine than individual:

Nunca los celos, a lo que imagino, dejan el entendimiento libre para que pueda juzgar las cosas como ellas son: siempre miran los celosos con antojos de allende, que hacen las cosas pequeñas grandes, los enanos gigantes, y las sospechas verdades.

In the same novel is a panegyric of the free gypsy life, and their freedom from jealousy he considers not the least charm of their existence. Juan is urged to choose a bride but is warned:

. . . pero has de saber que una vez escogida, no la has de dejar por otra, ni te has de empachar ni entrometer, ni con las casadas, ni con las doncellas. Nosotros guardamos inviolablemente la ley de la amistad: ninguno solicita la prenda del otro; libres vivimos de la amarga pestilencia de los celos. Entre nosotros, aunque hay muchos incestos, no hay ningún adulterio; y cuando le hay en la mujer propia, o alguna bellaquería en la amiga, no vamos a la justicia a pedir castigo: nosotros somos los jueces y los verdugos de nuestras esposas o amigas; con la misma facilidad las matamos y las enterramos por las montañas y desiertos como si fueran animales nocivos: no hay pariente que las vengue, ni padres que nos pidan su muerte. Con este temor y miedo ellas procuran ser castas, y nosotros, como ya he dicho, vivimos seguros. Pocas cosas tenemos que no sean comunes a todos, excepto la mujer o la amiga, que queremos que cada una sea del que le cupo en suerte. Entre nosotros así hace divorcio la vejez como la muerte: el que quisiere puede dejar la mujer vieja, como él sea mozo, y escoger otra que corresponda al gusto de sus años. Con estas y con otras leyes y estatutos nos conservamos

y vivimos alegres. . . . No nos fatiga el temor de perder la honra, ni nos desvela la ambición de acrecentarla, ni a acompañar magnates, ni a solicitar favores.

Los celos rompen toda seguridad y recato, aunque del se armen los pechos enamorados [*Persiles*, I, ii].

In the Spain of Cervantes jealousy was not merely the evil that it always is, but a social plague and a chief cause of crime. The common sense and humanity of Cervantes recognized this fact. He never ceased to preach against it.

CERVANTES' KINDLY ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMAN

Cervantes invariably shows tenderness and charity toward womankind. A young girl should be allowed to choose her future mate—a very modern idea.

El comer y el casar ha de ser a gusto propio, y no a voluntad ajena [*La guarda cuidadosa*]. Porque decía él, y decía muy bien, que no habían de dar los padres a sus hijos contra su voluntad [*D.Q.*, I, xii]. Pues los dos éramos iguales, era bien dejar a la voluntad de su querida el escojer a su gusto, cosa digna de imitar de todos los padres que a sus hijos quieren poner en estado [*ibid.*, I, li].

The same thought recurs in Mauricio's story (*Persiles*, I, xii): "me sobró el cuidado de criar la hija . . . carga difícil de llevar de cansados y ancianos hombros." (Who can help but be reminded of Isabel de Saavedra?) He arranges a marriage for her:

Tomando consentimiento primero de mi hija, por parecerme acertado y aun conveniente que los padres casen a sus hijas con su beneplácito y gusto, pues no les dan compañía por un día, sino por todos aquellos que les durare la vida; y, de no hacer esto ansí, se han seguido, siguen y seguirán millares de inconvenientes, que los más suelen parar en desastrados sucesos.

It is thus that Cervantes anticipates the thesis so well treated by Moratín in *El sí de las niñas*.

Cervantes accepts the doctrine that all is fair in love and war:

Teneos, señores, teneos, que no es razón toméis venganza de los agravios que el amor nos hace: y advertid que el amor y la guerra son una misma cosa y así como en la guerra es cosa lícita y acostumbrada usar de ardides y estratagemas para vencer al enemigo así en las contiendas y competencias amorosas se tienen por buenos los embustes y marañas que se hacen para conseguir el fin que se desea, como no sean en menoscabo y deshonor de la cosa amada [*D.Q.*, II, xxi].

The thought here expressed is sufficiently commonplace. Calderón uses the doctrine to excuse lovers' tricks which in our modern code of gentlemanly conduct would be dishonorable: the reading of another's correspondence, and petty deceits of every description. Cervantes gives it a broader interpretation, and holds that feminine lapses due to love are not to be considered grounds for a duel.

He has the utmost charity for what he calls "yerros de amor." For example, Cardenio in *La Entremetida*:

Si me queréis de castigar,
primero advertid, señores,
que los yerros de amores
son dignos de perdonar.

Las culpas que comete el enamorado en razón de que no es suyo ni es él el que las comete, sino el amor que manda su voluntad [*Persiles*, II, xiii]. De ellos supieron otra vez los traidores desinios de Policarpo; pero no les parecieron tan traidores que no hallase en ellos disculpa el haber sido por el amor forjados: disculpa bastante de mayores yerros, que, cuando ocupa a un alma la pasión amorosa, no hay discurso con que acierte ni razón que no atropelle [*ibid.*, II, xvii].

If Cervantes accepts the view of his time that woman is a fragile and imperfect creature, it is only to draw the moral that it devolves upon men to maintain a virtue so easily compromised:

Mira amigo, que la mujer es animal imperfecto, y que no se han de poner embarazos donde tropiece y caiga, sino quitárselos y despejalle el camino de cualquier inconveniente, para que sin pesadumbre corra lijera a alcanzar la perfección que le falta, que consiste en ser virtuosa [*D.Q.*, I, xxxiii]. Es así mesmo la buena mujer como el espejo de cristal luciente y claro, pero está sujeto a empañarse y escurecerse con qualquiera aliento que le toque. Ha de usar con la honesta mujer el estilo que con las reliquias, adorarlas y no tocarlas [*ibid.*, I, xxxiii].

A gentleman should not breathe slander against even the erring woman. Don Quijote cautions Sancho to maintain secrecy concerning the bed-chamber visit of the supposed princess of the castle:

Porque has de saber, mas esto que ahora quiero decirte, hasme de jurar que lo tendrás secreto hasta después de mi muerte. Sí juro, respondió Sancho. Dígolo, replicó don Quijote, porque soy enemigo de que se quite la honra a nadie [*D.Q.*, I, vii].

In *El laberinto de amor*, Rosamira, daughter of Duke Anastasio, is falsely accused of adultery by Dagoberto, who offers to maintain his

assertion in the lists. Manfredo defends her cause and establishes her innocence. This plot, the well-known folk-lore story of the queen or queen's daughter falsely accused, is hackneyed and without interest. What is novel in the literature of the time is Anastasio's human and fatherly attitude:

que, ora sea verdad, ora mentira
el relatado caso que la infama,
el ser ella muger, y amor la causa,
debieran en tu lengua poner pausa.
No te azores, escúchame: o tú solo
sabías este caso, o ya a noticia
vino de más de alguno que notólo,
o por curiosidad o por malicia.
Si solo lo sabías, mal mirólo
tu discreción, pues, no siendo justicia,
pretende castigar secretas culpas,
teniendo las de amor tantas disculpas.
Si a muchos era el caso manifiesto,
dexaras que otro alguno le dixera:
que no es decente a tu valor ni honesto,
tener para ofender lengua ligera.
Si notas de mi arenga el presupuesto,
verás que digo, o que dezir quisiera,
que espadas de los principes, qual eres,
no ofenden, mas defienden las mugeres.

Cervantes accepted the common theory that for purposes of honor husband and wife are one, and that the former may lose honor through the latter's transgressions. He does not, however, use this theory to justify honor murders, as will soon be shown:

Y tiene tanta fuerza y virtud este milagroso sacramento que hace que dos diferentes personas sean una mesma carne: y aun hace más en los buenos casados, que aunque tienen dos almas, no tienen más de una voluntad. Y de aquí viene que como la carne de la esposa sea una mesma con la del esposo, las manchas que en ella caen, o los defectos que se procura, redundan en la carne del marido, aunque el no haya dado, como queda dicho, ocasión para aquel daño. Porque así como el dolor del pie, o de cualquier miembro del cuerpo humano, se siente todo el cuerpo, por ser todo de una carne mesma: y la cabeza siente el daño del tobillo, sin que ella se le haya causado. Así el marido es participante de la deshonor de la mujer, por ser una mesma cosa con ella. Y como las honras y deshonoras del mundo sean todas y nazcan de

carne y sangre y las de la mujer mala sean deste género, es forzoso que al marido le quepa parte dellas y sea tenido por deshonorado, sin que él lo sepa [*D.Q.*, I, xxxiii].

THE MERCIFUL DÉNOUEMENT

Let us now examine a number of instances where the point of honor occurs in Cervantes' writings. It will be seen that the dénouement is always illustrative of Cervantes' mercy and charity where woman is concerned.

In *La Española inglesa*, the camarera poisons the heroine Isabela, and though she recovers, her beauty is supposed to be permanently destroyed. Ricardo, Isabela's lover, begs Queen Elizabeth to pardon the criminal. He will not take vengeance on a woman, even though she be guilty.

In *El casamiento engañoso*, the Alférez Campuzano is tricked into marriage by an adventuress who plunders him and elopes with another. He sets out, sword in hand, to kill her, but nothing happens. Not finding her, cooler reflection leads him to think that he has been rightly served. He had tried to cheat her, imagining her to be rich, and had been beaten at his own game. "No quise buscarla, por no hallar el mal que me faltaba."

Similarly in *El Licenciado Vidriera*, the Glass Licenciado is asked what advice to give the husband of an eloping wife: "Díle que dé gracias a Dios por haber permitido le llevasen de casa a su enemigo. —Luego no irá a buscarla? dijo el otro.—Ni por pienso, replicó Vidriera, porque sería el hallarla un perpetuo y verdadero testigo de su deshonra." Cervantes here gives his age good advice in humorous form.

La fuerza de la sangre well illustrates Cervantes' attitude toward honor. Leocadia, the heroine, is kidnapped by a young blade, Rodolfo, and conveyed to his apartments. Although this takes place before the very eyes of father and mother they make a virtue of secrecy and do not inform the police, "temerosos no fuesen ellos el principal instrumento de publicar su deshonra." The father says: "Es mejor la deshonra que se ignora que la honra que está puesta en opinión de las gentes." After the seduction Leocadia urges her lover to kill her: "Quítamela (la vida) al momento, que no es bien que la tenga la que no tiene honra; mira que el rigor de la crueldad que

has usado conmigo en ofenderme se templará con la piedad que usarás en matarme; y así en un mismo punto vendrás a ser cruel y piadoso." Rodolfo is unmoved by this rhetoric and tiring of his amour releases his victim. Leocadia returns to her home and makes, to her father, a clean breast of her disgrace, which still remains secret. The father neither kills her nor sends her to a convent, but aids her in every way. Neither is his attitude changed when she later gives birth to a son:

Y advierte, hija, he says, que más lastima una onza de infamia pública que una arroba de infamia secreta; y pues puedes vivir honrada con Dios en público, no te pene de estar deshonrada contigo en secreto; la verdadera deshonra está en el pecado, y la verdadera honra en la virtud: con el dicho, con el deseo, y con la obra se ofende a Dios; y pues tú, ni en dicho, ni en pensamiento, ni en hecho le has ofendido, tente por honrada, que yo por tal tendré, sin que jamás te mire sino como verdadero padre tuyo.

After several years a marriage is discreetly arranged between Rodolfo and Leocadia, and the honor problem is happily solved. Like most writers of the time, Cervantes thinks that he has done well by his heroine in bestowing her upon an unscrupulous rake. The points to note are that Leocadia's father stretches the principle of secrecy in the interests of humanity; that Cervantes does not accept the barbarous principle of "A secreto agravio, secreta venganza"; and that vice is held to be dishonor, virtue honor.

Teodosia, heroine of *Las dos doncellas*, though less innocent, is the recipient of equal charity. She has allowed herself to be seduced by Marco Antonio, under promise of marriage. (Andrea de Cervantes had claimed to be *desposada y concertada* with a certain Nicolás de Ovando.) Marco Antonio abandoned her and she, clad in male attire, took to the road in pursuit of the faithless one. Arriving at an inn she was forced to share a room with a male traveler. During the night she indiscreetly confides her story to the stranger. In the morning she discovers to her horror that she has disclosed her dishonor to her own brother. She hands him her sword and urges him to take her life, with the one stipulation that the murder be so discreetly done that her dishonor shall not be made public. The brother is at first tempted to take her life, but after a moment's consideration, he lifts her up, consoles her, tells her that no punish-

ment can equal her folly and that not all the doors opening upon remedy are closed. Brother and sister take to the road, overtake Marco Antonio, who shows that there has been a misunderstanding and readily fulfils his obligations. Returning home the principals find their aged fathers engaged in an honor duel, which automatically stops when explanations are made. In this story Cervantes shows the inadvisability of taking hasty vengeance.

In *La Señora Cornelia*, Lorenzo Bentibolli makes a virtue of secrecy: "Las infamias mejor es que se presuman y sospechen que no que se sepan de cierto y distintamente, que entre el sí y el no de la duda, cada uno puede inclinarse a la parte que más quisiere, y cada una tendrá sus valedores." He and a friend demand a reckoning of the offender, the reigning duke, Alfonso de Este. The latter prefers a mésalliance to breaking his plighted word to a woman, and all ends happily. One doubts if the Estes of history were as magnanimous as Cervantes represents them.

But the greatest instance of magnanimity is probably that afforded by *El celoso extremeño*. Carrizales, the hero, has returned to Seville from the Indies, aged, rich, and insanely jealous. He marries a young girl, Leonora, upon whom he bestows a princely marriage portion. He builds for her a fortress-like mansion in which she lives a prisoner, surrounded by every luxury, carefully secluded from all male society. But love laughs at locksmiths. A young blade, Loyasa, effects an entrance. This *novela* has come down to us in two versions. In the *borrador* Leonora sins. In the printed version she is merely compromised by Loyasa. Though this change is to the detriment of the plot and diminishes the husband's magnanimity, Cervantes could not resist it. It is significant that in this case revision took the form of greater consideration for a woman. This is the vengeance which Carrizales decides upon, addressing his wife's parents:

La venganza que pienso tomar desta afrenta no es ni ha de ser de las que ordinariamente suelen tomarse; pues quiero que, así como yo fuf extremado en lo que hice, así sea la venganza que tomare, tomándola de mí mismo, como del más culpado en este delito; que debiera considerar que mal podían estar ni compadecerse en uno los quince años desta muchacha con los casi ochenta mós. Yo fuf el que, como el gusano de seda, me fabriqué la casa donde muriese, y si a ti no te culpo, oh niña mal aconsejada!—y diciendo esto, se

inclinó y besó el rostro de la desmayada Leonora—; no te culpo, digo, porque persuasiones de viejas taimadas y requiebros de mozos enamorados fácilmente vencen y triunfan del poco ingenio que los pocos años encierran. Mas porque todo el mundo vea el valor de los quilates de la voluntad y fe con que te quise, en este último trance de mi vida quiero mostrarlo de modo que quede en el mundo por ejemplo, si no de bondad, al menos, de simplicidad jamás oída ni vista; y así, quiero que se traiga luego aquí un escribano, para hacer de nuevo mi testamento, en el cual mandaré doblar la dote a Leonora, y le rogaré que después de mis días, que serán bien breves, disponga su voluntad, pues lo podrá hacer sin fuerza, a casarse con aquel mozo, a quien nunca ofendieron las canas deste lastimado viejo; y así verá que, si viviendo jamás salí un punto de lo que pude pensar ser su gusto, en la muerte hago lo mismo, y quiero que le tenga con el que ella debe de querer tanto. La demás hacienda mandaré a otras obras pías; y a vosotros, señores míos, dejaré con que podáis vivir honradamente lo que de la vida os queda.

He frees the guilty slaves, and also rewards with presents these and others who have betrayed him. After Carrizales' death, Leonora, whose heart has been touched, enters a convent. Loyasa seeks a life of adventure in the new world.

The *novela* of *El curioso impertinente* offers an excellent pendant to *El celoso extremeño*. The point of honor is here argued with greater subtlety than elsewhere, particularly as regards the mutual obligations of friendship. Anselmo has made a happy marriage with Camila. The two are devoted to each other; but one thing disturbs Anselmo's happiness. Would Camila resist temptation? To satisfy his doubt he urges a friend, Lotario, to play the lover to Camila. Lotario points out the folly of this. Anselmo should let well enough alone: "La buena y verdadera amistad no puede ni debe de ser sospechosa en nada, con todo esto es tan delicada la honra del casado que parece que se puede ofender aun de los mismos hermanos, cuanto más de los amigos" (*D.Q.*, I, xxxiii). He further urges that all three parties risk losing honor: "Porque si yo he de procurar quitarte la honra, claro está que te quito la vida, pues el hombre sin honra, peor es que un muerto: y siendo yo el instrumento, como tú quieres que lo sea de tanto mal tuyo, no vengo a quedar deshonorado, y por el mismo consiguiente sin vida?" (*loc. cit.*). And again: "Tú me tienes por amigo, y quieres quitarme la honra, cosa que es contra toda amistad: y aun no sólo pretendes esto, sino que procuras que yo te la quite a ti" (*ibid.*). Lotario furthermore argues that Camila

will hold him a man remiss in his duty to a friend, hence a man without honor. Likewise she will think that some act of her own has caused his conduct. Hence she will look upon herself as one dishonored, and automatically her husband, Anselmo, will lose his honor too (*ibid.*). Neither the good sense nor the dialectics of Lotario convince Anselmo. Lotario begins his obligatory courtship. At first he plays the rôle of faithful friend, and Camila that of loyal wife. But the two are playing with fire. Their characters undergo rapid disintegration. In the end they trick and deceive the foolish husband in a way which makes them both odious to the reader. Nevertheless Camila is the recipient of the usual Cervantine charity. The dénouement is precisely the same as that of *El celoso extremeño*. Anselmo forgives and dies; Camila enters a convent; Lotario dies in battle. Anselmo's parting letter is as follows:

Un necio e impertinente deseo me quitó la vida. Si las nuevas de mi muerte llegaren a los oídos de Camila, sepa que yo la perdono, porque no estaba ella obligada a hacer milagros, ni yo tenía necesidad de querer que ella los hiciese: y pues yo fui el fabricante de mi deshonra, no hay para qué. . . . [*D.Q.*, I, xxxv].

Don Quijote contains two other honor stories of slight importance. First (*D.Q.*, I, li), Leandra elopes with a soldier who had promised to marry her. He robs her, leaving her virtue intact. The father fails to take the approved steps to restore the family honor, merely placing his daughter in a convent until the scandal shall have passed over. He expresses the opinion that her youth excuses her folly. Second, Claudia Gerónima (*ibid.*, II, lx) fancying herself deceived by her betrothed, shoots him, wounding him mortally. In reality he is innocent, the victim of a misunderstanding. Before he dies the lovers meet, the misunderstanding is cleared away, and vows are again exchanged. After the death of her betrothed, Claudia, repentant, enters a convent. Cervantes here makes a man the innocent victim of an honor situation; he never had the heart to make a woman suffer in similar fashion.

The *Persiles y Sigismunda* is full of honor stories. Periandro (*ibid.*, II, xiii) relates how, while privateering on the high seas, he captured a ship commanded by Leopoldo, king of Danea. Below decks he found a youth and a young girl bound in a pillory. These are

the queen of Danea and a page with whom she had deceived her husband. The only ransom which Periandro will accept is the pardon of the guilty pair. Leopoldo complies, in spite of the fact that the queen had also plotted against his life. Periandro argues that: "la grandeza del rey algún tanto resplandece más en ser misericordiosos que justicieros." A similar thought occurs later (*ibid.*, III, x): "Los jueces discretos castigan, pero no toman venganza de los delitos; los prudentes y los piadosos meclan la equidad con la justicia, y, entre el rigor y la clemencia, dan luz de su buen entendimiento." Compare these passages with the advice given Sancho as to the method of best governing his *insula*:

Cuando pudiere y debiere tener lugar la equidad, no cargues todo el rigor de la ley al delincuente, que no es mejor la fama del juez riguroso que la del compasivo. Si acaso doblares la vara de la justicia, no sea con el peso de la dádiva, sino con el de la misericordia [*D.Q.*, II, xlii].

Ambrosia Agustina (*ibid.*, III, 12), hearing that her husband is a captive of the Moors, assumes male attire and enlists as a soldier. In this compromising garb she meets her brother and husband. "Qué traje es éste, hermana mía? Y mi esposo dijo 'Qué mudanza es ésta, mitad de mi alma? que si tu bondad no estuviera tan a parte de tu honra, yo hiciera luego que trocaras este traje con el de la mortaja.'" However, he has perfect faith in her honor and takes no vengeance.

Ruperta (*ibid.*, III, xvi, xvii) was the wife of Lamberto de Escocia. Claudio Rubicón, a former lover, kills her husband in a fit of jealousy. Ruperta swears vengeance. She wears mourning, compels her servants to do likewise, and on all her travels drapes her bedchamber with black. She carries about her husband's head in a case of silver to serve as a perpetual reminder of her duty. Claudio dies. She then resolves to kill his son, Croriano. The latter chances to take lodging at an inn where Ruperta is staying. She bribes his servant to admit her to his sleeping-chamber at night. She enters with a sword in one hand and a lamp in the other, but is so impressed with the beauty of the sleeping youth that she drops the sword, awakening him. Croriano, equally impressed with her beauty, offers to atone for his father's wrong by marrying her. Again the merciful dénouement. When Ruperta resolves to spare Croriano, she says: "Gózate,

gózate, joven ilustre, y quédese en mi pecho mi venganza y mi crueldad encerrada, que, cuando se sepa, mejor nombre me dará el ser piadosa que vengativa."

Another significant episode is the story of Feliciana de la Voz, "la doncella encerrada en el árbol" (*ibid.*, III, III, iv, v). While the pilgrims are passing through Extremadura, a horseman comes up bearing a newborn babe which he requests them to carry to a certain address in Trujillo, and, stating that he is pursued, hastily rides away. Soon after there comes a beautiful girl, likewise pursued on account of an affair of honor. She demands protection and is hidden over night in a hollow tree. She is Feliciana de la Voz, so called for her gift of song. Her parents, poor hidalgos, had arranged for her a marriage with another poor hidalgo, Luis Antonio. But she had become betrothed to another even more eligible, because richer, hidalgo, Rosanio. Like most young ladies of the time involved in honor difficulties, she has no mother. "Destas juntas y destos hurtos amorosos," she says, "se acortó mi infamia, si es que se puede llamar infamia la conversación de los desposados amantes." She is about to become a mother. One day the father tells her to prepare a good supper as her betrothal to Luis Antonio is to take place that evening. The excitement brings on a delivery. A servant, Leonora, takes the baby to Rosanio, the father. But Feliciana's father, hearing a commotion, enters the kitchen, learns the truth, and hastens in pursuit of Rosanio. Feliciana then escapes and takes refuge with the pilgrims. After a night in the hollow tree, she dons pilgrim attire and proceeds with them to the convent of Our Lady of Guadalupe. On the way thither they had left the baby at the indicated address in Trujillo. During the services at Guadalupe, Feliciana sings. Her father and brother, who chance to be in the audience, recognize her marvelous voice. The brother rushes forward to kill her on the spot. The father restrains him, but only on account of the sacred spot. Both linger outside the church, and when Feliciana emerges, attack her. The pilgrims and the police manage to protect her. One of the characters reasons thus:

Señor Don Sancho, nunca la cólera prometió buen fin de sus ímpetus: ella es pasión del ánimo, y el ánimo apasionado pocas veces acierta en lo que emprende. Vuestra hermana supo escojer buen marido; tomar venganza

de que no se guardaron las debidas ceremonías y respetos, no será bien hecho porque os pondréis a peligro de derribar y echar por tierra todo el edificio de vuestro sosiego.

The father snatches the dagger from his son's hand, and both become sweetly reasonable. Rosanio is recognized as a son, and a marriage makes all right.

I have purposely saved for the last the story of the Polaco, Ortel Banedre (*P.y S.*, III, vi, vii). The episode consists of two parts, the first based on fiction, the second freely adapted from fact.

The Pole, Ortel Banedre, while walking the streets of Lisbon, is violently brushed aside by a Portuguese noble. He draws sword to avenge the *afrenta* and kills the aggressor. Pursued by the police, he enters a mansion and makes his way to an inner apartment, where he finds the mistress of the house in bed. He states his case and demands protection, "por forastero." The lady hides him in an alcove behind her bed. Servants enter bearing the body of the lady's only son, Don Duarte, the one slain in the duel. Enter next the police who have seen Ortel enter the house. "He is not in this room at least," the bereaved mother replies to their questions; "you may seek him yonder, although please God that you may not find him, because one death is ill remedied by another, and the more so when the wrong is not of a malicious nature." Later the lady, Doña Guiomar de Sosa, smuggles Ortel out of the house with a present of 100 ducats. The law of hospitality has prevailed over private vengeance.

It is well known that this story proceeds from Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* (1565, 6th novel, 6th decade).¹ Giraldi Cinthio's heroine is even more generous, because she adopts her son's slayer in his place. But Cervantes doubtless thought that this additional touch was superfluous. Now Cervantes rarely plagiarizes. It is significant that he was attracted by none of Giraldi Cinthio's lewd tales, but could not resist the temptation to make his own this conspicuous example of generosity. Similar situations occur in the drama of Calderón.

After years in the Indies the Pole returns rich. Stopping overnight at an inn in Talavera, he sees a beautiful girl, Luisa, kicked and beaten by Alonso, the innkeeper's son. The Polaco falls in love with

¹ *Persiles y Sigismunda* (edited by Schevill and Bonilla, Madrid, 1914), II, 303.

the girl and is accepted as a husband on account of his wealth. He desires no other dowry than his bride's beauty. He covers her with jewels. Immediately after the marriage, Luisa elopes with her old lover, Alfonso, the pair taking all of the Polaco's wealth they can lay hands upon. The latter, learning that the two are under arrest in Madrid, is on his way thither to take vengeance upon them. Perian-dro gives him this excellent advice:

Vos, señor, ciego de vuestra cólera, no echáis de ver que vais a dilatar y a estender vuestra deshonra. Hasta agora no estáis más deshonrado de entre los que os conocen en Talavera, que deben de ser bien pocos, y agora vais a serlo de los que os conocerán en Madrid; queréis ser como el labrador que crió la víbora serpiente en el seno todo el invierno, y, por merced del cielo, cuando llegó el verano, donde ella pudiera aprovecharse de su ponzoña, no la halló, porque se había ido; el cual, sin agradecer esta merced al cielo, quiso ir a buscar, y volverla a anidar en su casa y en su casa y en su seno, no mirando ser suma prudencia no buscar el hombre lo que no le está bien hallar, y a lo que comunmente se dice, que, al enemigo que huye, la puente de plata; y el mayor que el hombre tiene, suele decirse que es la mujer propia. Pero esto debe de ser en otras religiones que en la cristiana, entre las cuales los matrimonios son una manera de concierto y conveniencia, como lo es el de alquilar una casa o otra alguna heredad; pero, en la religión católica, el casamiento es sacramento que sólo se desata con la muerte o con otras cosas que son más duras que la misma muerte, las cuales pueden excusar la cohabitación de los dos casados, pero no deshacer el nudo con que ligados fueron. Qué pensáis que os sucederá cuando la justicia os entregue a vuestros enemigos, atados y rendidos, encima de un teatro público, a la vista de infinitas gentes, y a vos blandiendo el cuchillo encima del cadahalso, amenazando el segarles las gargantas, como si pudiera su sangre limpiar, como vos decís, vuestra honra? Qué os puede suceder, como digo, sino hacer más público vuestro agravio? Porque las venganzas castigan, pero no quitan las culpas; y las que en estos casos se cometen, como la enmienda no proceda de la voluntad, siempre se están en pie, y siempre están vivas en las memorias de las gentes, a lo menos, en tanto que vive el agraviado. Así que, señor, volved en vos, y, dando lugar a la misericordia, no corráis tras la justicia. Y no os aconsejo por esto a que perdonéis a vuestra mujer, para volverla a vuestra casa, que a esto no hay ley que os obligue; lo que os aconsejo es que la dejéis, que es el mayor castigo que podéis darle. Vivid lejos della, y viviréis; lo que no haréis estando juntos, porque moriréis continuo. La ley del repudio fué muy usada entre los romanos; y puesto que sería mayor caridad perdonarla, recogerla, sufrirla y aconsejarla, es menester tomar el pulso a la paciencia y poner en un punto estremado a la discreción, de la cual pocos se pueden

fiar en esta vida, y más cuando la contrastan inconvenientes tantos y tan pesados. Y, finalmente, quiero que consideréis que vais a hacer un pecado mortal en quitarles las vidas, que no se ha de cometer por todas las ganancias que la honra del mundo ofrezca.

For the moment, at least, the Pole accepts this advice and resolves to return to Poland. Luisa and her lover, released, go to Italy. She abandons Antonio and takes up with a Spanish soldier, Bartolomé el Manchego. They meet Alonso in Rome, and in a fight the latter is killed by Bartolomé. While this is happening the Polaco, who had gone to Italy rather than to Poland, comes up and attacks Bartolomé. Luisa stabs her husband in the back and he dies. The pair are arrested and condemned to death. But Cervantes could not bear, apparently, to mete out to them their just punishment. They are released through the efforts of the French ambassador, go to Naples, and, it is hinted, come to a bad end.

I have said that this second portion of the story has some slight historic foundation. A Pole, Ortel Banedre, was in fact, if we can accept the doubtful authority of Adolfo de Castro, notorious for the brutal part he played in a judicial honor murder which took place in Seville in the year 1565. He was an innkeeper whose wife had deceived him with a mulatto. The guilty pair were placed upon a scaffold in the public square, and, in accordance with the law then prevailing, the husband took his brutal vengeance before the eyes of the multitude. "Encima de un teatro público," says an old document, "a la vista de infinitas gentes, el agraviado esposo saco un cuchillo y se puso a dar infinitas cuchilladas a ambos delincuentes, hasta que murieron. Mostró una crueldad la cual no se acuerdan haberse visto ni oído en semejante caso."¹

Now it may be that the case of Ortel Banedre appealed to Cervantes as a particularly brutal example of honor vengeance. He then devised a story to show what Ortel Banedre should have done. The words of Periandro quoted above indicate Cervantes' own solution of this particular case. Ortel Banedre, is, however, incapable of following it and therefore meets a deserved fate. He draws sword, and, failing of vengeance, perishes by the sword.

¹ See Schevill and Bonilla, *op. cit.*, pp. 395 f., where they quote from the document, originally published by Adolfo de Castro in the *Crónica de los cervantistas* for 1876.

CONCLUSIONS

The many examples cited show that while Cervantes was too much a man of his age to condemn the duel *in toto*, his attitude toward honor was very advanced. He subscribes to everything in the code which was noble and generous. His common sense leads him to reject what was silly; his sweet and chivalrous nature condemns what was mean and cruel. The same kindliness which induced him to throw the mantle of charity over the shortcomings of his kin is extended to the creatures of his fancy. It may be that he seeks at times to give literary justification for the acts of his private life; but it seems more probable that his acts, as his writings, were determined by his disposition.

His charity for women is all-embracing. It is even extended to the common prostitute, Maritornes. After his unfortunate blanket-ing, Maritornes solaces Sancho with a drink of wine, "porque en efecto se dice della, que aunque estava en aquel trato, tenfa unas sombras y lejos de christiana" (*D.Q.*, I, xvii). It may be inquired whether there may be found in his writings examples differing from those I have cited. To this it may be replied with confidence that in all of Cervantes' voluminous writings there is no single instance to be found where his attitude toward woman is unchivalrous, where his attitude toward honor shows an ungenerous spirit.

The study of Cervantes' views on honor brings out strongly the pity, the human sympathy of the man, and gives one of the best possible answers to the question why he alone of his contemporary Spanish writers became a universal writer.

In one of the concluding chapters of *Persiles y Sigismunda* is a collection of aphorisms, called "Flor de aforismos peregrinos." (The title suggests Meredith's *Pilgrim's Scrip.*) These are not brilliant maxims, but they sum up the mature views of the dying author. They were almost the last words he ever wrote. The second on the list seems to be a cry from the heart: "No hay carga más pesada que la mujer liviana." The wanton woman was indeed the heaviest burden which Cervantes ever had to carry. It was the tragedy of his life that he who was so brave, so noble, so chivalrous, was, owing to family difficulties, a man whose honor had been sullied. But he knew well that there is a higher honor than technical honor and that

so-called honor based upon crime. Below the aphorism cited is the following: "Dichoso es el soldado que cuando está peleando, sabe que le está mirando su Príncipe." Was he thinking of Lepanto and how Don Juan de Austria had personally witnessed his daring exploits? And immediately below this: "La honra que se alcanza por la guerra, como se graba en láminas de bronce y con puntas de acero, es más firme que las demás honras." According to the barbarous standards of his time Cervantes may have been a social *déclassé*, but nothing, he felt, could deprive him of honor won in battle. And if this thought offered insufficient comfort, he could still turn to another noble aphorism of his own making: "La honra puedela tener el pobre, pero no el vicioso" (*D.Q.*, II, Prologue).¹

G. T. NORTHUP

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ Other, not very significant, allusions to honor can be found here and there in Cervantes' works: In *La gitanilla* there is described a street duel motivated by love. The victors take refuge in a monastery and later escape with the intention of taking refuge in Italy. In *La Ilustre fregona*, Costanza's mother was the victim of a rape. She manages to keep her disgrace a secret, but dies before reparation is made. The father does what he can to make amends to his illegitimate daughter. In *Persiles y Sigismunda* (II, xix and xxi) Renato, a French noble, loves Eusebia, a lady-in-waiting to the French queen. A rival, Libsomirol, betrays Renato to the king and challenges Renato to a duel. The king refuses to sanction this, and the pair meet in Germany. Libsomirol wins. Renato, deprived of honor, becomes a hermit in a northern isle. Eusebia follows him thither, and the pair live together, chastely, as hermits. Libsomirol falls ill and confesses his villainy. The king sends a messenger to the pair, officially restoring their honor. They abandon their holy state, return home, and marry.

OLD FRENCH *MIRE* FROM LATIN *MEDICUM*

The *r* in such semi-learned forms as *mire*, *remire*, and *homecire* has been systematically discussed by both Tobler and Paris, the former in *Romania*, II, 241-46, the latter in *Romania*, VI (1877) 129-33.¹ Tobler's theory was that *r* in these words was intercalated to break the hiatus. To support this explanation he presented a long list of examples which he believed came under this heading: *mire*,² *remire*, *homecire*, *Allyre*, *navire* < *navigium*, *artumaire* < *arte magica*, *grammaire*, *daumaire*, *fire*, *estuire*, *conwirer* < *convitare*, *esbarir* < *esbaïr*, *garigna* < *gaïgna*, *soron* < *secundum*, *devorer* < *devoër*, *afirree* < *afiëe*, *Acaries* < *Arcadius*, *sureau* < *seu-r-el*, *car* < *que*, *lor* < *la ou*.

Gaston Paris disposed of all these forms save *mire*, *remire*, *homecire*, *navire* (< *navilium*, as he claims), *artimaire* (< *arte mathematica*), *grammaire*, *daumaire*, *fire*, and *estuire*. He showed that, with the exception of these nine, Tobler had brought together a group of forms which had not been thoroughly attested. G. Paris then made further additions of his own to the list: *nobire* < *nobilium*, *envire* < *invidia*, *concire* < *concilium*, *evangire* < *evangelium*, *apostoire* < *apostolium*, and the proper names *Basire*, *Mabire*, *Aulaire*. These eight additional cases led him to propose a new theory, that the *r* was derived from a *d* through the transition stage of an *l*. To quote:

Reste à savoir comment la dentale des mots en question s'est changée en *r*. A mon avis elle a passé par *l*. . . . La cause de l'altération du *d* (primitif ou secondaire) dans tous ces mots est évidemment l'influence exercée par le yod voisin, bien que le changement direct du *d* en *l* ne soit peut-être sans

¹ Reprinted in his *Mélanges linguistiques*, publiés par M. Roques, 1909, pp. 270-75. I should also mention the following treatments of the word *mire*: Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 640; Körting, *Formenbau des französischen Nomens*, p. 313; and Gorra, *Studj di filologia romansa*, VI, 382. Diez believed the etymon to be *medicarius*.

² Are there any other possible analogical influences here? *Mirer* could possibly have influenced *mire* and *remire* and then perhaps the *-aria* ending has had an effect upon such words as *grammaire*, *daumaire*. It is certainly possible that these analogical influences may have existed, but at the same time it would be best for us to look farther.

exemples en français. [These examples are not cited.] Mais je ne sais s'il faut faire remonter à la période romane une tendance du *d* à s'altérer dans cette situation.¹

The shift from *d* to *l* is one which is easily understood. The two articulations are similar physiologically, the main difference between *l* and *d* being the narrowing of the tongue against the left side of the mouth in the case of the *l*. But Havet says, in criticism: "Cette théorie est séduisante pour bien des côtés, mais je ne puis m'empêcher d'y voir grandes difficultés." Havet believed, in those cases cited by G. Paris where an *l*-form is actually found beside an *r*-form, that the former was derived from the latter and that "c'est un provençalisme." He goes on to say:

Enfin, a priori, il est peu croyable qu'un mot comme *medicus*, dont on a conservé tant de représentations romanes, ait passé par la forme *milie* sans qu'il reste de cette formule la moindre trace; et l'invraisemblance augmente quand on considère combien nous avons d'exemples de *l* dans les mots où elle a réellement existé, comme *navilie*, *apostolie*, *Mabilie*, *Gilles*, *erangile*.

Mile is also found, though it is rare in the extreme; it certainly has all the earmarks of a variant of *mire*. Havet finally gives us his own opinion, that the *r* had its origin in a *ḏ* from *d*.² This theory has not proved as acceptable as that of G. Paris, so I shall not need to give a counter argument here.

Paul Passy offered still another explanation:³ "On sait que le *d* latin est devenu *r* dans quelques mots en vieux français, par exemple dans *mire* de *medicum*. ... D'après ce qui précède, je ne vois pas pourquoi ce changement n'aurait pas été direct." Passy does not develop this explanation, but merely gives it passing mention.

It is a fact that in Old and early Modern Spanish we find *melezena* < *medicina* (in *La Celestina*, for example) and, to be sure, *amidón* for *amilón*, as well as *omezillo* < *homicidium*. The last may well be due to suffix interchange (see above, n. 2, page 423). The only French example I have at hand occurs in George Sand's *Nouvelles*

¹ One may wonder whether G. Paris had not also in mind possible confusion between the suffixes *-idium* and *-ilium*. This has been pointed out to me by Professor J. D. M. Ford. If all the words in question were of this suffix-class, this would be most probable, but only three of the nine show an original suffix *-idium*.

² *Romania*, VI (1877), 255 ff.

³ *Etude sur les Changements phonétiques*, 1891, p. 146.

Lettres d'un Voyageur, the form *calabre* < *cadavre*.¹ This is evidently a Berrichon form. In Latin, of course, there is the famous shift from *dingua* to *lingua*, as well as *lacrima* (*lachryma*), corresponding to a Greek *δάκρυ*. In view of these examples we may safely say that the change of *d* to *l* is sporadic: it is not likely it would have affected a whole class of words such as those under discussion.

My suggestion for the origin of *r* in *mire*, *remire*, *homecire*, etc., is as follows. These words are obviously semi-learned. They might be termed "un quart savant," an expression which I have heard used by a distinguished French scholar in referring to the late Latin comparatives such as **sordidius*, **bellatior*, etc. The words, *mire*, *remire*, etc., retained their Latin forms till after the final fall of the penultimate vowels in Romance; later they passed into the current of Vulgar speech, undergoing subsequent phonological changes. Their partly learned character, however, must have been retained, as there was opposition to the absolute fall of the final vowel, which would otherwise have been dropped early.

Under these conditions the history of *medicus* would read thus: *mēdicum* > **mieico* > **mice* (or-*a*) > **miġe*.

When a final *o* or *u* was retained as in *jo* < *egō*, it weakened into an *e*² which assonanced only with *e* < *a*.³ This fact must surely be

¹ I am indebted to my colleague A. H. Schutz for this word. He has made a study of the vocabulary of George Sand which has not yet been published.

² I am aware that this passage of *jo* to *ge* is not considered as satisfactorily explained. I wish to thank Professor Jenkins for calling my attention to the fact that some scholars would derive *ge*, *gié* from *ē(ge)* and not as above. *Jo*, which must come from **go* < *ē(g)ō*, however (cf. Spanish *yo*), is the universal form in MS L of the *Alexis* (Twelfth century), in the Oxford *Roland* (c. 1170) and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (preserved in a late Thirteenth century MS now lost.) It is not till we consult *Gormont et Isembart* (MS of Thirteenth century) that we find a spelling *jeo*. Here we even find *jeo* in assonance with *a ier* < *a rium*. I believe that this spelling can be explained as an attempt to combine the actual pronunciation of the time with the traditional spelling. In the *Couronnement de Louis* (oldest MS, of the Thirteenth century) *je* is the regular form used. As *non* > *nen* when weakened, *illu* > *le*, **mos* > *mes*, **sos* > *ses*, and *igo* became *ce* (pronoun), I think that the change from *jo* to *je* should not present much difficulty. Further, we have *che* (equals *ce*) rhyming with an *e* < *a*, Barbazan and Méon, III, 111 (see Tobler's *Versbau*, 5te Aufl., p. 151). Examples of *ses*, *mes*, or *nen* in rhyme or assonance do not exist, as far as I know. In *Pathelin*, 1442, *par le* (< *illu*) rhymes with *parle* < *parole* < *parabolo*. Perhaps I should avoid all discussion as to the origin and value of the helping vowel. If any form of the first singular subjective pronoun is to be derived from *ē(gō)* it would be the accented form, I should believe, and not the unaccented which concerns us here.

³ This was first pointed out to me by Professor E. S. Sheldon several years ago. Examples may be found in Tobler's *Versbau* (see reference in note above).

well known. In order for the *o* to become an *e* of any quality it would pass through the intermediate stage of *a* or *ə* (compare modern Russian, where unaccented *o* is pronounced as *a*). At this stage, its development coalesced with that of an original *a*. Inasmuch as *c* vocalized to *ɨ* before an *a* ($>e$), we have the fourth stage, **miɨe*. As I have said above, the final *e* $<o$ was not then dropped, as we should expect; the word retained some of its learned value, sufficient to keep it a polysyllable. I may state here that the change *v a g u* $>$ *vai*, *p a c o* $>$ *pai*, *a m i c u* $>$ *ami*, *p a u c u* $>$ *poi*, *C a m e r a c u* $>$ *Cambrai*, *d ū c o* $>$ *dui*, *V L p r ě c o* $>$ **priei* $>$ *pri*, *B a v a c u* $>$ *Bavai* probably comes under this same development: *C a m e r a c u* $>$ **Cameraie* $>$ *Cambrai*, and *p a u c u* $>$ **poie* $>$ *poi*. The dropping of the final *e* occurred as in *eaue* $>$ *eau*.

But there have been some more recent discussions of importance dealing with these forms. Stimming, for example, would explain them as analogical.¹ *Cambrai*, he thinks, is by analogy with *Cambrais*, but Zauner points out that Stimming is here working in a circle. Zauner himself has made a contribution to the subject in his discussion of Stimming's article.² His criticism appears to me lucid and convincing. Although he does not go into detail, I am inclined to think that my explanation would seem quite similar to his if he should do so. I quote from his article, pages 615-16:

Die Annahme, dass sich auch im Frz. auslautendes *-u* länger gehalten habe als auslautendes *-o*, hat somit nichts Unwahrscheinliches an sich; man braucht dabei nicht an ein Verbleiben der vollen Artikulation zu denken; es genügt, wenn man die Fortdauer der kräftigeren Lippenrundung bei *-u* voransetze. Damit findet nicht nur *Cambrai* eine befriedigende Erklärung, sondern eine Reihe von Ausnahmen, die Stimming durch Angleichungen zu deuten gezwungen ist, stellt sich als vollkommen lautgerecht dar. So, vor allem, die 1. Person der Zeitwörter mit labialem oder velarem Stammauslaute. Stimming nimmt an, *bibo* hatte *biu*, *dico* *diu* ergeben müssen, usw. Ist es nicht auffällig, dass von allen diesen geforderten Formen keine einzige zu belegen ist, während doch die Sprache an Sonderentwicklungen der 1. Pers., z.B. bei *ruis*, *pruis*, *truis*, so lange keinen Anstoss genommen hat? Folgt man meiner Auffassung, so sind die tatsächlich allein vorhandenen Formen *boif*, *di* usw. ganz lautgesetzlich entwickelt. Stimming's Annahme, *di* sei nach *diënt*, *die*, also nach verhältnismässig

¹ *Zeits. für rom. Phil.*, XXXIX, 136.

² *Zeits. für rom. Phil.*, XL, 612.

selteneren Formen gebildet, ist wenig wahrscheinlich. So erklärt sich auch *pou* < *paucu* neben *poi* < *paucō* (Ablativ des Masses).¹

We have now come to the last stage of our theory. We should expect **miȝe* to give *mie* almost immediately. This form does occur quite frequently. Let us examine the other words in question: *remēdium* > **remieȝe* (analogy of *mire*?); *homicidium* > **omeciȝe*; *navigium* (?) > **naviȝe*; *ar(tema)thematica* > **artemaica* > **artemaȝe*; *stūdiūm* > **estūȝe*.

It will be noted that before the *ȝ* we always have a close *i* (or, in one case, a *ū* which contained a strong *i* element). The *ȝ* could be, and no doubt was, often absorbed into the preceding *i*. What other course was open? Here we may turn to Rippmann's *Elements of Phonetics*² and consult the palate diagrams for French *ȝ* and *i*, and English untrilled *r*.

If, by dissimilation from the preceding *i*, the blade of the tongue, in forming *ȝ*, is dropped and the back alone remains in contact with the palate (see diagrams), the result is a weak untrilled *r*, as in English. The extra power required would be furnished by the effort toward dissimilation. This *r* I believe to be the equivalent of the early Romance *r'* or *rȝ* which later became *ir* in French. That it was weak and untrilled in Romance is shown by the fact that *rȝ* > *ȝ* in Old Italian, as *parium* > *paio*, etc. As *iȝ* was a combination which could not possibly survive, and as the extra syllable represented by the final *e* was justified by the partly learned nature of the words, by *dissimilation* the *ȝ* passed into its nearest approach, the *r'* of which we have spoken. This *r'* then developed into *ir* in French:³ **omeciȝe* > **omeciȝe* > *omeciȝe*; **mir'e* > **miȝe* > *mire*; **estūr'e* > *estūire*; etc.

In the words with *l* (*nobire*, *concire*, etc.) I feel assured that G. Paris has given us the true explanation: the *l'* became *r'* > *ir*.

URBAN T. HOLMES

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

¹ I am indebted to Professor Ford for another explanation of these double forms: *paucum* in tonic use > **pogu* > *pou* (with very early voicing and loss of *c*); *paucum* in proclitic use before a consonant with loss of *u* > **poc* + cons. > *poi*. But I do not see how the other forms in question could be explained in the same way.

² Seventh ed., New York, 1918, pp. 60, 70, 79.

³ The *Atlas linguistique de la France* is of no use for the study of these words. *Medicinus* is the obvious etymon of all but one of the dialect forms. This exception is *mère*, used in certain parts of La Manche. Here we have a common variant of *mire* superimposed upon the form from *medicinus*. See Carte No. 830.

ANGLO-SAXON METER

When Sievers investigated the types of Anglo-Saxon meter, he classified them, but he did not explain them. This has led to the supposition that the famous five types are artificial things, a conclusion which by reaction has led to another supposition, recently expressed, that there must have been among the common people some other Anglo-Saxon folk poetry now lost, ballads and the like, which were rhythmical in the modern fashion, intended for singing, and different from the supposedly artificial five-type meter of the professional poets. Rankin¹ observes, after quoting opinions to the effect that modern meters with rime did not appear in English until the Middle Ages:

The implication is that there never existed in Anglo-Saxon any verse of a form different from that of the five-type alliterative verse which prevails in the corpus of extant Anglo-Saxon poetry.

Nevertheless, this view of the case appears upon examination to be highly improbable, not to say preposterous. For, unless the Anglo-Saxons were quite abnormal in their humanity, they must have composed many unpretentious songs and ballads—hymns, prayers, work songs, war songs, songs of joy and grief—with simple strongly marked rhythm, often with considerable alliteration, assonance, end rime, parallelism, and repetition: songs to be *sung*, not recited, by the individual or by the group. It is hardly conceivable that songs of such import, simple and popular lyrics, were ever composed in the stately five-type alliterating line with its irregularly shifting rhythms, which (however well adapted to chanting recitative) had little or no singing quality, and which, moreover, were quite possibly little known among the common people.

This is an ingenious guess. But there is evidence to show that the five-type meters were themselves spontaneous and musical devices, probably familiar to the common people; and that so far from representing a highly self-conscious and artificially developed art, they represent a simple, rudimentary, instinctive, and even primitive form of musical, or at least rhythmical, expression.

¹ "Rhythm and Rime before the Norman Conquest," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, September, 1921.

By way of preliminary analysis we may assume the following disjunctive as rigid and necessary. Either the Anglo-Saxon meters were sung, or chanted musically, or else they were merely noisy prose recited according to wholly unintelligible and purposeless laws of a complicated character. The second supposition is incredible. But if they were musical, they must conform to musical law. And the only known musical law of rhythm is a beating of time by means of accents, or a marking of time by syllable length. Even syncopated music and rag-time beat a clearly recognizable time, which lies behind their syncopation. In verse as in music, beating time implies a uniform spacing of the accents with the permissive use of a variable number of unaccented syllables or sounds between, and with the use of a pause at times in place of the unaccented syllable or syllables.

Is it reasonable to suppose that the five-type Teutonic poetry scans or sings, but does so by some obscure and undiscoverable law unknown to all other poetry and music, and that it constitutes therefore the only exception to otherwise universal rule? It seems an unreasonable supposition.

Let us look for a moment at the nature of modern poetry. Its syntax is practically that of prose slightly varied in order that accents may come at regular intervals. Its rhythm is a rhythm which appears in a modified form in much modern prose.¹ It seems to occur most frequently in the prose of speeches and the like, that is, in prose addressed to the ear, or in prose written for the eye only, but composed by authors who are habitual lecturers or orators, and who probably hear their sentences in the act of composition rather than see them on paper.

In view of these facts it is not unreasonable to assume as a hypothesis that Anglo-Saxon poetry preserved, with minor variations, the syntax of prose, and also represented a singing type of meter with accents at regular intervals. We have then a double-headed proposition. First, that Anglo-Saxon meters preserve the ordinary constructions of the language; second, that these constructions beat time with beats coming at regular intervals. The second proposition is the subject of this paper.

¹ For evidence, see article by author of this article in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, September, 1923.

Now assume for a moment, whether recklessly or not a further inspection will show, that Anglo-Saxon meters do sing or chant according to the rules of explainable music, and that they place accents at measured intervals, and separate them by unaccented syllables or pauses.¹ We find the complete type half-line to be $X _ X \cdot X$, where X is one or more unaccented syllables, or a pause. Number the X 's 1, 2, and 3. A pause in place 1 leaves an A type of half-line, $_ X _ X$, a pause in place 2, a C type, $X _ _ X$, a pause in place 3, a B type, $X _ X _$. Therefore, when only one X takes the form of a pause, the A, B, and C types exhaust the possible combinations. There is no occasion to search for obscure rhythmical significances in these types. They are merely the possible changes that can be rung on the theme $X _ X _ X$, with one pause.

Thus all five types conform to the type $X \pm X \pm X$. This is hard to prove by direct attack, but there is no positive evidence against it, and the supposition at once converts the Anglo-Saxon meters from an inexplicable mystery into a natural part of a universal system of musical forms. The fact that two accents occur sometimes

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accent. D¹ and D², in the first half of the half-line, show only ˘ or ˘ X, and E only ˘ Ẋ X or ˘ Ẋ X X. These facts need explaining also.

For these limitations as to the expansibility of certain half half-lines by the addition of unaccented syllables, this argument does not present any explanation. But this does not in the least affect the reasonableness of the theory advanced in regard to the whole system of meter. It only shows certain limitations, which remain unexplained.

To return now, in conclusion, to the general theory, let us consider a moment the possible ways of singing or chanting the meter. It is almost incredible that the poet would deliberately change his music from half-line to half-line to suit the exigencies of five types of rhythm, shifting from one to another without law or regularity. And apparently there is no law or regularity in the shifts. On the other hand, suppose that some simple, chanting rhythm, such a thing as a primitive tribe might easily develop, served as the tune, so to speak, of the whole poem, the only requirements of the verse being that it should fit four accents to the four regular accents of the tune, should alliterate on at least two of the first three accents, and should obey the other unexplained laws already indicated. The whole matter at once becomes simple.

Many of our modern songs exhibit a variation in the number of unaccented syllables in successive strophes. Compare line 3 of strophe 1 of *Auld Lang Syne* with line 3 of strophe 2.

Should auld acquaintance be forgot

and

But we've wandered mony a weary foot.

In view of these facts it is safe to conclude that the Anglo-Saxon poetry could have been sung or chanted by a regular tune repeated over and over. It is even more likely that, instead of a single tune repeated over and over, there was a regular rhythm with simple variations in the tune. With this simple rhythm running smoothly in the mouth of an instinctively musical chanter, the five types would appear in due course of events, not as the artificial mannerisms of a conscious art, but as the possible combinations of stressed syllables,

unstressed syllables and pauses, which would preserve the regular beat, four times to the line, it being recalled that certain combinations for unknown reasons were avoided.

Anglo-Saxon verse then would appear to be nothing but good Anglo-Saxon prose, adjusted to the exigencies of song or chant.¹ The alliteration alone appears to be a self-conscious device, not forced upon the poet in the effort to sing the language, but consciously assumed as an ornamental or forceful device.

JAMES ROUTH

OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY

¹ This relationship between Anglo-Saxon prose and Anglo-Saxon verse receives peculiar confirmation on the rhythmical side. In the article of the present writer previously cited (*P.M.L.A.*, September, 1923), are a number of examples of modified forms of five-type Anglo-Saxon rhythms discovered in modern prose. The accentuation, and consequently the rhythm, of Anglo-Saxon prose is unknown, but if modifications of the five types appear in modern prose—mixed with other rhythmical types—they must have appeared in the ancestral prose of Anglo-Saxon days. This goes to show a close relationship of some sort between Anglo-Saxon prose rhythm and Anglo-Saxon verse rhythm, and further confirms the supposition that the five-type verse rhythm was part of the native form of the language, not an artificial cult.

THE GOTHIC ADJECTIVE *BALS*

The Gothic adjective *bals* does not appear in the Gothic grammars and dictionaries, nor is it in the careful collection of stray Gothic words in the fifth chapter of Streitberg's *Gotisches Elementarbuch*.

It occurs in a passage of Procopius' *Gothic War*. The author is describing the events of A.D. 537. The emperor at Constantinople had sent an army to protect Rome from the threatening Gothic horde. The night before the two forces joined battle, a party of twenty renegade Goths deserted the army of Rome and joined their fellow-countrymen. Procopius writes:¹

He [i.e., Belisarius, the Roman general] at that time rode a horse that was very bold and understood well how to carry his rider through all dangers. It was grey all over, except that it was snow white from the foretop to the nostrils. The Greeks call such a horse *phalion*, but the barbarians call it *balan* (τοῦτον Ἕλληνες μὲν φαλῖον, βάρβαροι δὲ βάλαν καλοῦσι). The Goths now hurled their spears and shots mostly at the horse and Belisarius, and it came about this way. The renegades, who on the day preceding had gone over to the Goths, saw that Belisarius was fighting in the front rank; now they knew that the Roman cause would be badly off if he should fall, therefore they cried aloud that men should aim at the *balan* horse (. . . βάλλειν, ἐγκελευμένοι ἐς ἵππον τὸν βάλαν).

Now nearly everyone makes the acquaintance of Procopius through the German translation by Dr. D. Coste in *Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*,² but the curious form given by Coste hindered the recognition and correct evaluation of the word in question. He translates as follows: "Solch ein Pferd nennen die Griechen Phalios, die Barbaren aber Balas." And again: "deshalb schrieen sie laut, man solle auf den Balas zielen." He not only failed to translate the word but he created an artificial linguistic monstrosity. From a Gothic accusative *balan* one could not arrive at a nominative *balas*.

¹ Page 131 of Volume I of *La guerra gotica di Procopio di Caesarea*, edited by Domenico Comparetti, Rome, 1895. It is Volume XXIII of *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*.

² VI Jahrh. Bd. I. *Prokop, Gothenkrieg*. Leipzig, 1885. Cf. p. 52.

Ferdinand Wrede¹ still further confused the meaning of the passage by connecting the Gothic word with Old High German *walh* meaning "foreigner," our *Welsh*, and asks: "Ist danach das Pferd . . . auch ein welsches Ross?" This is unnecessary, since Procopius often uses β for the sound of Germanic *b*, as a glance at Wrede's index will readily show. Moreover, it is flying in the face of the evident meaning of the passage, for the Gothic word is a translation of the Greek adjective used here and is related to it.

Comparetti, in his index in the third volume of *La guerra gotica*, cited above, attributes the Gothic word to the right origin, but says that it is "nome gotico di una specie di cavallo dai Greci detto phalios," i.e., he assumes that it is a noun, which it cannot be, and he gives a form *bala*, which he evidently intends for the Gothic nominative singular, probably regarding it as a masculine *n*-stem.

In the first passage in which *balan* occurs, it translates a Greek adjective and is used in an absolutely parallel construction, so it can hardly be anything but an adjective. In the second passage it is an adjective modifying a noun, and can be nothing else. This second passage is, moreover, an indirect quotation. Procopius, who accompanied the expedition as its official historian, either heard the words or the report came to him that the Gothic renegades shouted to the other Goths: "Aim at the *balan* horse." In such a construction the adjective is weak, and *balan* is the correct form for the weak accusative singular masculine adjective in Gothic. We evidently have a correct report of the form of a Gothic word used on a Roman battlefield in the year 537. In Wulfila's time it would have had the form *bals* in the nominative singular masculine of the strong declension.

Bals evidently signifies "blase-faced," which is here the meaning of the Greek adjective $\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, the word which it translates in the first passage. *Bals* corresponds in form exactly to $\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, meaning "shining, white"; it is related to dialectal English *ball*, which may of course be only a lazy pronunciation of *bald*, and is applied to a horse with a white stripe down his face; to Gaelic *bal*, meaning the same; to Breton *bal*, a white spot on the forehead of domestic animals. We have it with a dental ending in Danish *bældet*, "bald-headed," in

¹ *Quellen und Forschungen LXVIII. Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien.* Strassburg, 1891.

Middle English *balled*, which became Modern English *bald*, also used in the compound "bald-faced" of such a horse as Belisarius rode. "Baldy" and "Bally" are at the present day common names to give to such a horse, at least in the Middle West.

The zero-grade of the same root with an added suffix is found in *blase* and *blase-faced*, in German *Blässe*, O.H.G. *blas-ros*, M.L.G. *blasen-hengst*, Icelandic, *-blest*, *blesótt*, Danish *blis*. The etymological dictionaries give a vast array of congeners, but it is not necessary to cite more.

The words *βαλιός*, "spotted, striped," and *βαλιος*, "piebald," the name of one of Achilles' horses, T 400, belong to a different root.¹

While considering *bals* it occurred to me to ask if Gothic *balsagga*, Mark 9:42, is certainly a scribal error for *hals-agga*, as usually assumed. My colleague, Professor Francis A. Wood, suggests that the first member, *bal-*, may be connected with English *ball*, the root of which has furnished a number of words meaning head.

CHESTER NATHAN GOULD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ Jarl Charpentier, *Ai. bala-weise*. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, XL, 453 ff.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr par Guernes de Pont-sainte-Mazence. Poème historique du XII^e Siècle (1172-1174). Published by E. WALBERG. Acta reg. societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis. V. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1922. Pp. clxxx+386. 8.

This noteworthy addition to the list of well-edited Old French texts had been accepted for publication by the French Société des anciens Textes français, but owing to the disturbances caused by the war it was withdrawn by its editor and now appears under the auspices of the Royal Humanistic Society of Lund (Sweden).

The poem itself has been known to scholars and historians for a long time. Immanuel Bekker was the first to publish, at Berlin in 1838 and 1844, reprints of the Wolfenbüttel and Harleian MSS (Suchier's "Thomas W" and "Thomas H"), while C. Hippeau followed, in 1859, with a very incorrect edition of the Paris MS, for which he made unwarranted claims; these three MSS remain the chief basis for the present edition, although there are two others, Welbeck Abbey and Cheltenham, and a fragment in the Cottonian collection.

Up to this time, the author of the poem on Becket has been known as Garnier (Guarnier); Walberg finds that the principal MSS (except Paris) present the name as *Guernes*, of which the oblique case would be *Guernon*; but, as the latter form does not occur in the poem, the editor adopts the nominative, which occurs twice. It appears, however, that *G. Werino*, *Werno*, is only the hypocoristic form of *Wernhere* (= *Warinhari*); those, therefore, who might continue to use *Garnier* would not be so very far in the wrong. Nor would *Guernon*, in our opinion, be unjustified, for the editor abundantly instances this form in medieval documents (p. 307), and usage inclines to the use of the oblique case (Conon de Béthune, Naimon de Baivière, etc.), especially when the name has survived into later French.

Guernes, or Garnier, was a *clericus vagans*, and a Frenchman from "France." Soon after the murder of Becket, he wrote an account of the event in the vernacular, but, as he tells us, this *romanz* was stolen from him by scribes, who sold copies of it for profit. He then repaired to Canterbury in order to learn more of the facts of the tragedy, and began, in 1172, a second version which took him two years to complete. This he read, "many a time," at the tomb of the "blisful martyr," for the edification of the pilgrims

who thronged to kiss the paving-stone which had been broken by the murderous sword of Richard le Breton. The poem as now published runs to 6,180 verses; the form, monorimed Alexandrine strophes of five lines, imposed considerable difficulty, and when we find that the author recoiled before none of the duties of the conscientious historian, even versifying at length the Constitutions of Clarendon and Becket's long letter to Henry II, his performance must be regarded as impressive. The story of the assassination is told clearly and vividly, yet with restraint; this scene, of about 500 lines, has been familiar to many readers, as it was included by Paul Meyer in his *Recueil d'anciens Textes* (1877).

The murder of Becket in his own church sent an electric shock through all Europe; it was a sensation as if something strange and hitherto deemed impossible had happened, and the effect was comparable, we imagine, to that produced in America by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The penance of Henry II was as humiliating as that of Henry IV at Canossa, while the common people, who understood very little of the merits of the fierce quarrels which had preceded the catastrophe, came in crowds to the tomb of the martyr soon made a saint: *Tuit chrestien li quierent e salu e confort*, says the poet, and some two hundred years later Chaucer will tell us that still-

from every shires ende
Of Engelond, to Caunterbury they wende,
The holy blisful martir for to seke

The studies of the MSS, of the Latin sources of Guernes (mainly Edward Grim and William of Canterbury, while Roger of Pontigny is shown to derive largely from Guernes), and of the language and versification of the poem, have been done with extreme care. Guernes at times amplifies his narrative with personal reminiscence, some of which has independent historical value; in other cases, he has incorrectly reproduced his sources, but his errors are few and not of great importance.

The six MSS fall into two groups of three each, and we note that the editor has not been deterred from attempting this classification by the new school which declares in advance the futility of such genealogies. In the case of this author, it being evident from many passages that he is using now Edward Grim and now William of Canterbury, the Latin texts may often be quoted to confirm the manuscript scheme which has been arrived at by other means. Thus, verse 2614: the reading of the pair BH, *Mielz volsist estre morz* represents the Latin of Grim, *multas potius elegisset mortes*, while the other trio PWC have quite a different and unsupported phrase, *Quel semblant qu'il fesist*. Again, at verse 1775, BH correctly make mention of the Bishop of Chichester, while PWC erroneously have the Bishop of Worcester (*Wirecestre*). The edition is based upon the pair BH, any departures from them, and also the variants of P (the principal member of the group PWC), being indicated throughout.

A few matters of detail seem worthy of mention. The editor continues to quote the feminine *fere*, verse 2621, as though it were a significant Anglo-Norman reduction of normal *fiere*, but it can hardly be a genuine case. Guernes is reproducing, quite inaccurately, Gen. 37:33. Joseph's brothers are made to say to Jacob (in reality, these are Jacob's own reflections): *Que (Joseph) devorez esteit d'icele beste fere*. It is quite obvious that we have here a reproduction of the Latin *fera pessima comedit eum, bestia devoravit Joseph*. The word is a pure Latinism, like *mole*, verse 3363 (p. CL). It is well known that Old French texts reproduce Latin (*e*) with precisely this vowel: Philippe de Thaaon rhymes Lat. *temporé* with *trové* (see Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Frz. Gram.*, §62, and the rich collection of material in Otto Müller's dissertation, Zürich, 1919, p. cxli)—It is highly improbable that the word *empereür* is anything but four syllables in the language of Guernes; the alternative in verse 3002 (*Teodosie* with syneresis of the first two syllables) is, on the other hand, probable enough. The prætonic (*eo*) tends everywhere toward reduction to (*e*) or to (*i*) or to (*ie*); cf. *liepart*, *tifaigne*, *tifaine*, *Legier*; even in more "learned" texts, writers hesitated between *Theophiles* as four and as three syllables (Bartsch-Horning, col. 466).—*Bricon* (vs. 1864) is better rendered "insignificant fellow" than by the French word *fou*.

T. A. JENKINS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt by Thomas of Britain, translated from the Old French and Old Norse. By ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1923. Pp. XVII+294. \$2.50.

This new translation of the *Tristan* of Thomas, the first to be attempted in English since the medieval *Sir Tristrem*, is made, as the title suggests, from two sources: the extant fragments of the Anglo-Norman original and, for the lost portions of the original, the Old Norse *Saga* of Brother Robert which in the main follows Thomas closely. It offers the poem as nearly complete as it is possible to reconstruct it from the sources at our disposal.

In handling the *Saga* the translator has taken occasional liberties, as he himself notes in an Appendix (p. 292). Most important of these is a very considerable condensing of the first fifteen chapters which deal with the love of Rivalen and Blanchefleur. Tristan is also represented as going alone on his voyage to Ireland (chap. xxx). On the whole, however, the Old Norse text is followed faithfully, although the translation is sometimes free. *Ok foerði konunginum eptir stinum sið* (ed. Kölbing, p. 23, l. 25), for example, is translated "and the King wrought after his usage" (p. 35). The passage seems to mean "and he [Tristan] brought [them] to the king after his usage."

The rendering of Thomas' own lines is, as the translator claims for it (p. 292), close and in large measure literal. Inaccuracies have, however, crept in. In the episode of the wedding night in Brittany, we find (p. 195): "Tristram doth off the gown wherewith he was clad: well it sitteth upon him, *stretched with points*." Thomas reads for the phrase in italics: *al puin estreit* (ed. Bédier, l. 442), "close at the wrist," as the sense demands. A few lines below (p. 196): "I have espoused her lawfully *by the usage of the church*" translates *a l'us del mustier* (p. 478), "at the entrance to the church." "Well would I that hatred were hers rather than love or desire" (p. 199) is the translation given for the couplet: *Bien voil que la haür i seit Plus de l'amur or le conveit* (595f.). The second verse can hardly mean other than "More than love I now desire it" (cf. Bédier's note to l. 596). The translations of lines 597, 1097, 1132, 1412, 1834, 2890 are also open to objections. Lines 279 f., 632 f., 2019 f., 2180, 2231 have been omitted.

From the artistic standpoint the translation is unusually well done. The author has caught the spirit of the old romance and rendered it with fidelity and charm. Quaint illustrations from the Chertsey Tiles, and archaic English used with understanding and taste, contribute not a little toward preserving the medieval flavor of the original.

L. E. WINFREY

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